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HARYANA
STUDIES IN HISTORY AND CULTURE



HARYANA PRADESH

HARYANA

STUDIES IN
HISTORY AND CULTURE

Edited by
Kripal Chandra Yadav

53916

Foreword by
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TO
THOSE WHO LOVE THE
HISTORY AND CULTURE
OF
HARYANA

1917

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Foreword

It gives me great pleasure to introduce this volume entitled *Haryana : Studies in History and Culture* to the reading public. This work is a collection of eleven research studies by specialists in their respective fields. Each study takes stock of the new materials that are being increasingly brought to light with a view to unravelling the tangled history of this ancient land. It is hoped that they will shed new light on many vexed problems and also focus attention on many unknown aspects of life and culture in this region.

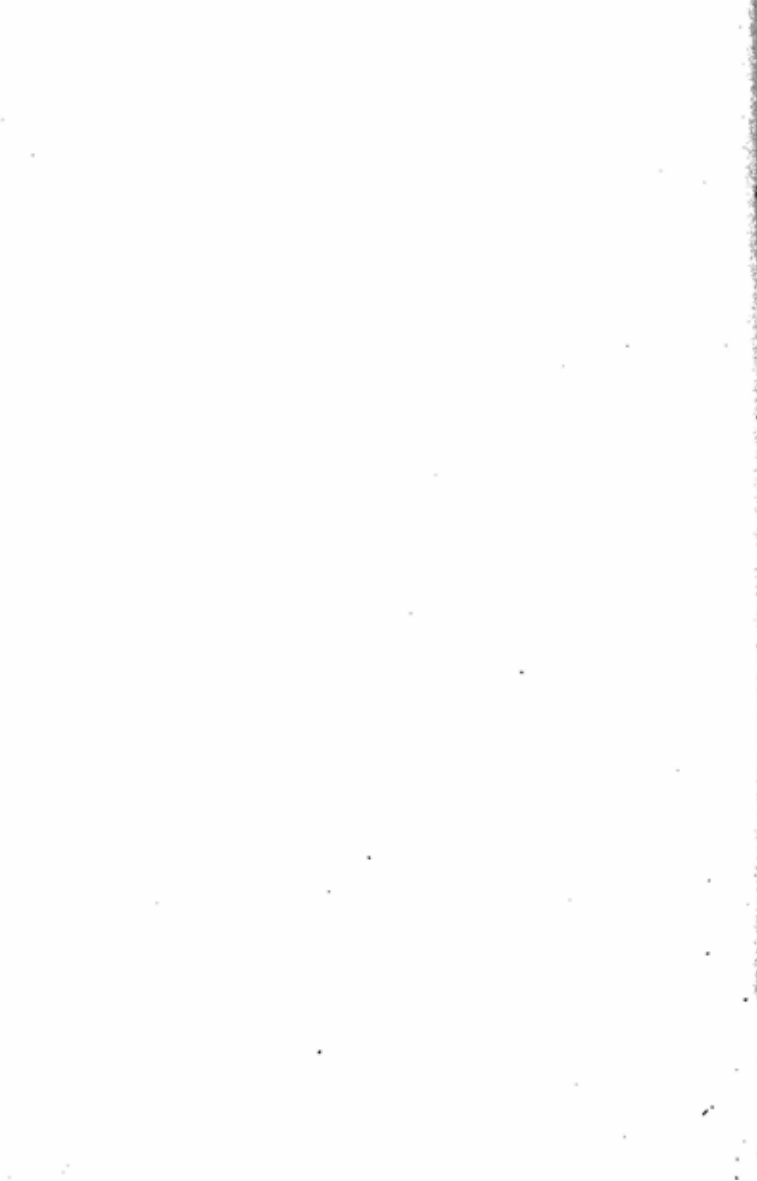
It would not be out of place to state that from many points of view Haryana has been the key to the history of the whole country and many significant turns and twists of it can be understood and appreciated within the framework of its past. In this way the history of Haryana is a colourful tapestry, the threads of which represent the various shades of life and culture in various regions encompassed in our country.

It is in the fitness of things that the history of Haryana be properly studied and evaluated. For this purpose the Kurukshetra University brought out last year a volume of studies entitled *Glimpses of Haryana* and is publishing this year the present volume as part of a larger programme of preparing a comprehensive history of this region.

I hope this work would serve a useful purpose by arousing the interest of the people in the history and culture of Haryana.

Kurukshetra
March 10, 1968

D. C. Verma



Preface

It is my privilege to offer to the readers this volume of studies in the history and culture of Haryana. Last year too we brought out a volume of this nature bearing the title *Glimpses of Haryana*. That volume was well-received by scholars and researchers as well as general readers which emboldened us to bring out the present volume within about an year.

The studies contained in this volume cover a wide field from ancient to modern times and range over varied aspects of life, like ancient geography, tribes and peoples, their expansions and infiltrations, contacts and relations with neighbouring regions, periods of subjection and struggle for independence, literature and education and general cultural orientations. Though it would be difficult to claim that the topics covered here are comprehensive, yet it should be readily admitted that their sweep is fairly wide. As a result the present volume presents the colourful and eventful panorama of the historico-cultural life of the people of Haryana.

The fact that within about an year and a half of the formation of the State of Haryana the Department of History of the Kurukshetra University has been able to bring out two research volumes on the history and culture of this region, is an indication of the variegated and multimorphous pattern of Haryana which is pregnant with immense possibilities of research and study.

The history of Haryana has not merely a regional value but is also of national significance. The studies contained in this volume are characterised by this broad aspect of things. Most of them have been prepared purposely for this volume on the basis of latest researches. All of them are informed by the central idea of giving an integrated picture of the long evolution of life and culture in Haryana. All periods of history, ancient, medieval and modern, are adequately represented and treated

here. Thus the reader would have some idea of the rich pageantry of history of this region across the ages.

The dominant idea behind the research work contained in these two volumes is to prepare the ground for writing a comprehensive history of Haryana in course of time for which the Department of History is equipping itself. It is hoped that this project would be taken up shortly and completed well in time.

It is gratifying to note that the present Vice-Chancellor, Shri D.C. Verma, is intensely interested in and sincerely devoted to the task of writing the history of Haryana and bringing about a cultural renaissance through it. It is due to his inspiration and assistance that it has been possible to bring out these two volumes so soon. Thanks are due to him for the pains he has taken in writing a valuable foreword to this volume.

The onerous task of editing the volume and the difficult ordeal of seeing it through the press have been undertaken by Dr. K.C. Yadav who deserves to be thanked for it.

Lastly it is my pleasant duty to thank the learned contributors for their scholarly studies. It is hoped that they would persist in their labour and make even greater contributions to the subject in course of time.

Department of History,
Kurukshetra University.
March 10, 1968

Buddha Prakash

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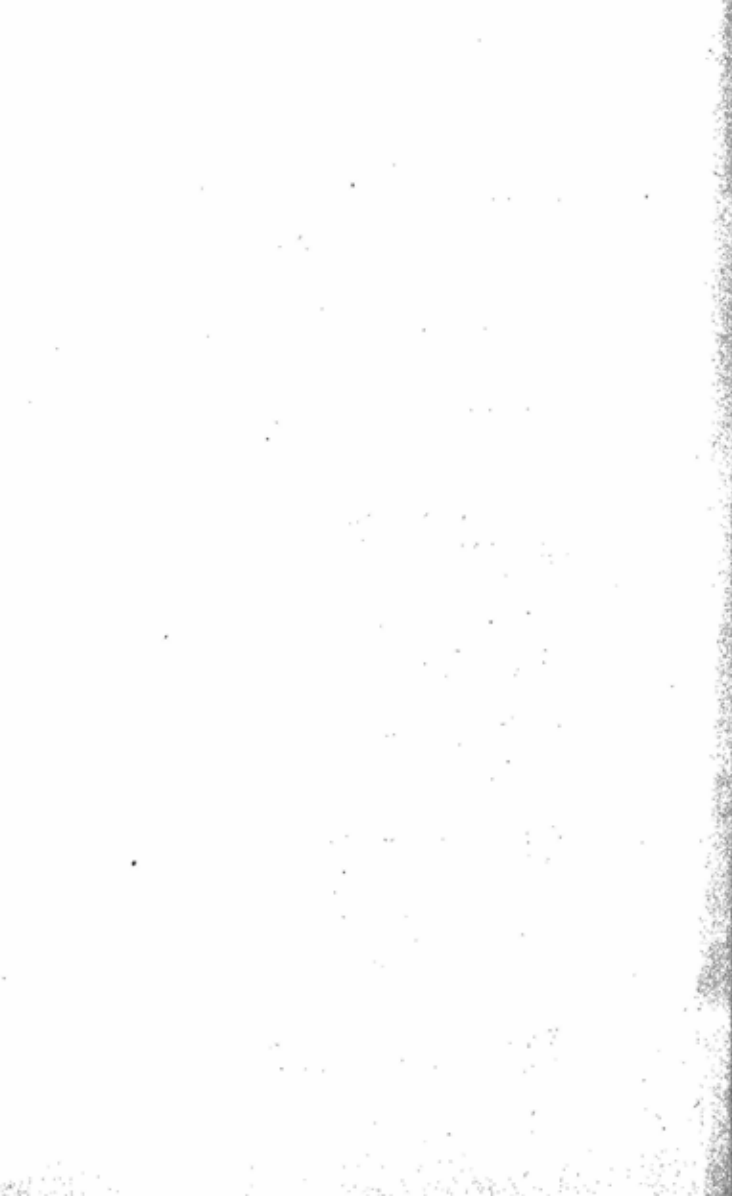
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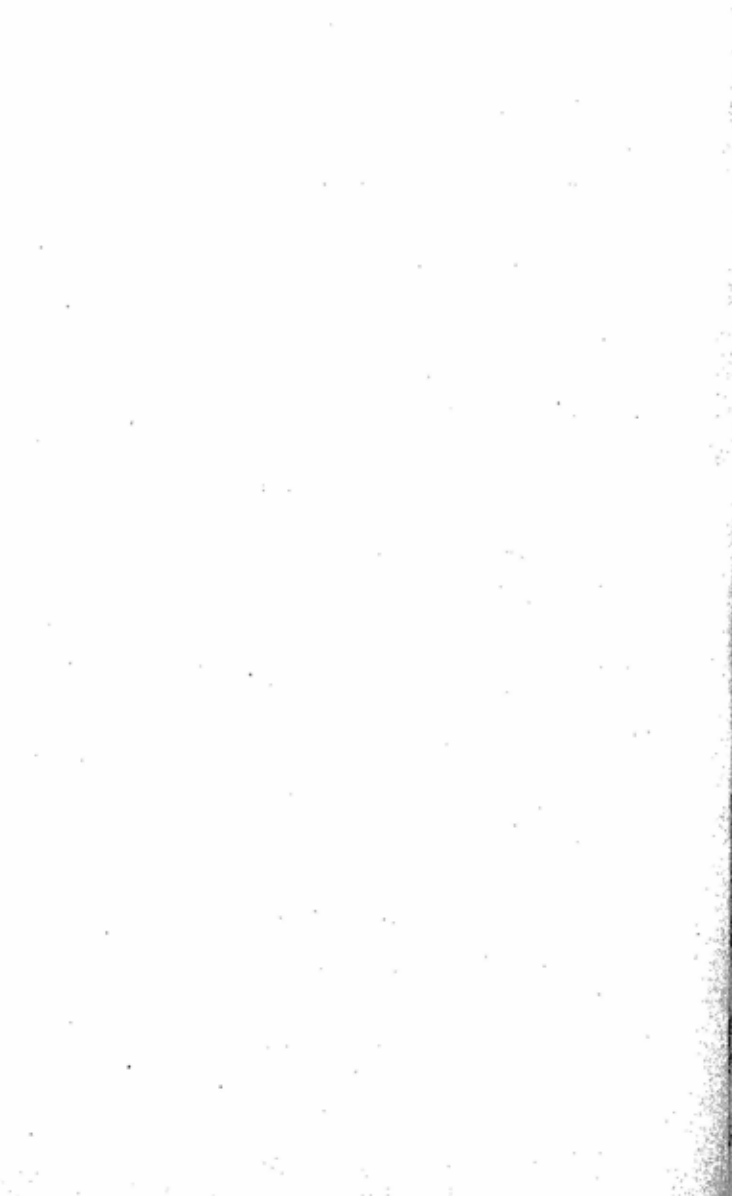
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The Dawn of Civilization in Haryana

The recent archaeological excavations at Mitathal near Bhiwāni in Hissār district and explorations in the Sarasvatī basin¹ throw significant light on the early stages of the rise and growth of civilisation in Haryana going back to the 3rd millennium B.C. The absence of the remains of the still earlier stages of human activity in the prehistoric times in this region is perhaps due to the lack of survey in the Śiwālak foot hills in Ambala and around the Arāvallis in the Gurgāon districts, the potentially rich areas.

The earliest known phase of history of the Haryana region is characterised by the Sothī culture², so called after the type site in the Gangānagar district of Rājasthān where its remains were first recognised. The Sothī culture sites are found spread along the dry beds of the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī *nadīs*, identified with the Sarsutī *nullāh* (near Kurukṣetra) and the Chitang *nadī* (in the Hissār and Jind districts) respectively, with a heavier concentration along the bed of the latter *nadī*.³ The absence of the antecedent evolutionary stages of the Sothī culture in this region or in the Gangetic plains to the east points out to its source lying farther west. In fact early agricultural communities from the Baluch hills or farther west came down to the Indus plains as early as the beginning of the 3rd millennium B.C., and the Haryana region was occupied by them not much before the last quarter of the 3rd millennium B.C. The bulk of the Sothians seem to have moved along the Dṛṣadvatī and the Sarasvatī *nadīs*; but taking up of an upper course by some of them along or across the Sutlej also cannot be ruled out as the pottery

1. For these sites see appendix II.

2. A. Ghosh, "The Indus Civilisation: the Origins, Authors, Extent and Chronology", *Indian Prehistory: 1964* (1965), pp. 112-124.

3. Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 51.

discovered at Sarāngpur⁴ near Chandigarh bears greater affinities with that from the pre-defence phase at Harappa⁵ than with that from Kālībañgan.

What factors were responsible for the eastward movement of the early agricultural commodities in the 3rd millennium B.C. cannot be precisely determined in the present state of our knowledge. Perhaps the unprecedented expansion of the agricultural economy in the Quetta culture of Damb Sadaat II in the Baluch hills had worn out the environment and forced large scale exodus of the surplus populace to trek down into the Indus plains in search of fresh lands and pastures. The occupation of the lower Indus Valley by Āmrī folk had possibly started a little earlier in the late Kechi Beg period. The eastward movement of the Sothī people in the Sarasvatī valley was perhaps not unassociated with the expansion of the Harappan civilisation as can be guessed from the violent displacement of the pre-Harappans at Kot Diji.⁶

A comparative study of the Haryana's Sothī ceramic industry with that from the Quetta, Zhob or Loralai valleys of central and northern Baluchistan brings out a number of similarities in decorated designs, colour scheme or typology with the Kechi Beg, Quetta and Periano Ghundai wares.⁷ It may be pointed out here that the Sothī ware in Haryana has comparatively fewer painted designs and types and less archaic potting. Besides, there is no use of white pigment here in addition to the black, in painting the vases unlike at Kālībañgan⁸ in Rājasthān. These facts may indicate a rather late stage for this ware in this region.

4. *Indian Archaeology—A Review, 1962-63.*

5. Suraj Bhan, "New Light on the Ochre Ware Culture," *The Research Bulletin (Arts), Punjab University, No. LVII (III), 1967, pp. 1-9.*

6. R.E.M. Wheeler, "Harappa 1946", *Ancient India, No. 3, Figs. 8 and 9.*

7. F.A. Khan, "Preliminary Report on Kot Diji Excavations, 1957-58".

8. B.K. Thapar, "Relationship of the Indian Chalcolithic culture with West Asia," *Indian Prehistory : 1964 (1965), pp. 156-164.*

The Sothī people lived in mud brick houses in small fortified settlements. The figure of gram plant and corn twigs on their pots found at Kālibāṅgan give an idea of the crops cultivated by them. Besides, they domesticated bull and goat and manufactured implements of bronze, copper and stone. Their pottery is wheel made red ware having matt surface and painted in black with geometric and linear designs and block paintings at rim and neck. The decorations include raised hands in Quetta Wet Ware style and incise designs mainly on the interior. The important types include vase, bowl, or dish on stand.

The next period in the history of the Haryana region is distinguished by the advent of the Harappa civilisation which seems to have grown rather suddenly among the kindred Sothī folks on the lower Indus, in reponse to the challenge posed by nature and the new vistas of knowledge opened by the ideas of civilisation from West-Asia which was already well under way there about 3000 B.C. The violence at Kot Diji and the displacement of the Sothians at Kālibāṅgan and Mitathal precludes the possibility of the Harappan expansion being peaceful, and it was perhaps this threat which led the Sothians to fortify their villages in this part of the land.

The Harappans who moved into the Sarasvatī basin following the Sothians established their seats of Government and trade centres at Rakhi Garhī near Jīnd, Mitathal near Bhiwāni and Wananwali near Fatehabad in Hissār district. The existence of twin mounds at each of these sites suggests that the Harappans followed the typical pattern of other cities.

The Harappan remains from Mitathal and other sites in the region fully bear out the mature Harappan traditions in town planning, in architecture and in arts and crafts. The house-hold equipment, such as chert blades, cubical stone weights, saddle querns, bone pins, teracotta triangular and discular caps and other articles, such as terracotta toy carts, wheeled birds or animals, ornaments of bronze, semi-precious stones, faience, steatite or clay including bangles, beads, etc. are made in characteristic Harappan style. The Harappan pottery here is a well-burnt sturdy red ware painted in

black with pipal leaf, fish scale and other geometric designs. The decorated designs include intersecting impressed circles, cord impressions, etc. The main types in pottery include goblets, beakers, perforated jar, dish on stand, etc., etc.

The first wave of the Harappan colonisers which came towards the close of the 3rd millennium B.C. stopped short of the Yamunā, their progress being checked by the forests in Rohtak and Karnāl regions and swamps along the Yamunā, as can be judged from the absence of mature Harappan settlements in these tracts. The well-organised Harappans successfully established their strongholds in the region in course of time among the Sothī populace which survived and co-lived in the same houses with them as is attested from the survival of the Sothī ware side by side with the predominant Harappan ware at Mitathal and elsewhere. Perhaps in remoter regions the Sothians could hold their own contemporaneously with the Harappans at least for some time. The civilising influences of the Harappans appear to have been quickly adopted and adapted by the proletariat Sothians.

After some time the Harappans did not content themselves with the occupation of the Sarasvatī plains and penetrated into the Śīwalak hills crossing the Yamunā on the east. The jungles and swamps were cleared with the help of bronze implements which became more popular in this phase as attested at Mitathal and in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab; perhaps the nearer source of metal in Rājasthān was being tapped about this time.

The expanding agricultural economy resulted in tremendous increase in the population as is indicated by the growth of numerous settlements all over Haryana and also in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab. This increase in the population does not appear to be a mere local phenomenon.

The rather sudden exuberance of the painted and decorated designs in the pottery showing new elements is indicative of an influx of new hands of people from the Indus valley or further beyond. The decay of the Harappan cities about this time does not seem to be altogether unconnected with the upheavals in west Asia and Iran which blocked the trade and disrupted the life-

line of the civilisation. The insecure conditions within the country are perhaps also reflected in the pattern of the small settlements of the late Harappans, generally grouped together, and in the burial of copper implements⁹ in hoards, popularly called the Copper Hoards by the archaeologists.

A new cultural era was ushered in the history of this region about the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. with the advent of the succeeding phase characterised by the use of the Painted Grey Ware which marked almost complete cultural break with the bronze age civilisation. The Painted Grey Ware culture people, identified with early Aryans by B. B. Lal, drove a wedge between the Late Harappans by occupying the Kurukṣetra region in their eastward movement along the Sarasvatī as evidenced by the explorations in the region. The Dṛṣadvatī region which continued to be the strong hold of the Late Harappans was perhaps avoided by the Painted Grey Ware people. It was from the Kurukṣetra region that the further sprad of the Painted Grey Ware culture in other parts of Haryana and also into the Gaṅgā plains was effected in due course.

The historical era ushered in the Haryana region towards the middle of the first millennium B.C. Several important cities grew among which the most noteworthy are Asandh, the ancient Asandivat in Karnāl district and Sugh, the ancient Srughna,¹⁰ near Jagādharī. Iron had come in common use; writing from which the modern scripts have been derived came in vogue; and the introduction of coinage replaced the barter system.

This is, in short, the story of the rise and growth of civilization in ancient Haryana.

—Suraj Bhan

9. The excavation at Mitathal has yielded a copper *parasu* comparable with the one from Kurdi in Rajasthan, a celt and a ring, all typical of the Copper Hoards, in association with the Late Harappan pottery in stratigraphical context. Previously two copper harpoons had also been found from the surface of this mound.

10. Suraj Bhan, "Srughna or Sugh : An old capital of Ancient Punjab," *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. V, Pt. I (March, 1967).

Early History and Archæology of Haryana

HARYANA was the cradle of Vedic civilization. It was on the banks of the rivers Āpayā, Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī that the Vedic sages and seers kindled the sacred fire¹ :

दृषद्वत्यां मानुष आषवायां सरस्वत्यां देवदग्नेदिदीहि² ।

There are numerous references to its rivers and places in the early literature. we are informed that two Bharata princes (Devaśravas and Devavāta) offered sacrifices in the land watered by the Āpayā, the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī.³ The *Brāhmaṇas* and the Epics also tell us that "Bharata Dauṣyantī made offerings on the Jumna, the Ganges and the Sarasvatī. The territory indicated in these laudatory verses is exactly the region which is later on so highly celebrated as Kurukṣetra (Haryana)."⁴ *Digvijaya Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* narrates⁵ that it "extended from the border of the land of the Kulindas (near the source of the Sutlej, the Jumna and the Ganges) to that of the Sūrsenas and the Matsyas (in the Mathura and the Bairaṣa regions respectively), and from the frontier of Rchtak (Rohitaka) to that of the Pañcālas (of Rohil Khand). It was divided into three parts, Kuru Jāngala⁶,

1. Maxmuller, *Hymns of the Rgveda*, I, p. 226; *Vedic Index*, I, p. 374.

2. *Rgveda*, III, 23.4.

3. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India (PHAI)*, p. 23.

4. *Rgveda*, III, 23.4; Max Muller, *Hymns*, I, p. 226.

5. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 21-22, thinks that it corresponded to modern Thānesar and the upper Gangetic Doab.

6. Probably the wild region of Kuru realm, stretching from the Kāmyaka forest (on the bank of the river Sarasvatī) to Khāṇḍava near the Jumna (*Ibid.*, p.22). In certain passages it indicates even the whole of the country.

Kurus⁷ proper and Kurukṣetra". Kuru Kingdom and Kuru *Janpada* were known to Pānini (IV.1.172). The Kāśikā enumerates all the three different units of the Kuru country i.e., *Kuravaśca kurukṣetram ca Kuru—Kurukṣetram*⁸, *Kuravaśca Kurujāngalaṃ ca Kuru—Kuru-jāngalaṃ* (India, p. 54). According to V.S. Agrawala (India, p. 54) :

(i) Kuru-rāṣṭra proper was between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā rivers with its capital at Hastināpura;

(ii) Kurujāngala was equal to Rohtak, Hansi and Hissar; while

(iii) Kurukṣetra was situated still to the north with its centre at Thānesar, Kaithal and Karnāl.

Some localities in this region

(a) Alluding to the old Vedic myth of Urvaśī and Pururavas, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XI.5.1.4) relates how, wailing with sorrow, the lover wandered through the Haryana region until he reached a Lotus-Lake (in Kurukṣetra region), then called *Anyataḥplakṣa* where nymphs were swimming about in the forms of swans. There he found his beloved, Uravaśī, ultimately.⁹

(b) *Śaryaṇāvat*, another locality name, occurs in various passages of the *R̥gveda* and this has been taken by Sāyaṇa as a "district in the Kurukṣetra region".¹⁰ According to a vedic legend the thunderbolt of Indra was formed of the horse's head with which he slew the *Vṛitras* on the outskirts of the *Śaryaṇāvat* lake (*R̥gveda*, I.84.13). Cunningham thinks that this lake was the

7. Probably located in the region around Hastinapur near Meerut (*Ibid.*, p. 22). The royal residence, according to the Vedic Texts, was apparently Āsandinī. Raychaudhuri (*Ibid.*, p. 32) opines that the city may have been identical with Nāgāshvaya or Hastināpur but it is more probably represented by the modern Asandh near the Chitang". But it should also be noted that the Chitang river has been associated with the Kurukṣetra region. *India*, pp. 54-5.

8. Monier Williams, *A Sk. Eng. Dictionary*, 1899, Oxford, p. 294, S.V. Kuru.

10. *Vedic Index*, II, p. 364 also referring to the views of Roth, Zimmer, Pischel, Hillebrandt, Ludwig, etc. (Sāyaṇa on *R̥gveda*, VIII. 6.39; also his commentary on the other verses such as VII. 7.29, I, 83.13-14).

same as the present great tank of Kurukṣetra.¹¹ Thus he seeks to consider the sacred pool as old as the *Rgveda* itself (*ASL*, II, pp. 218-19).

(c) Near *Śaryānāvāt* was *somatīrtha* where Indra took the *Soma rasa* after the death of *Vritra* (*Rgveda*, IX, 65.22).¹²

Rivers in this Region

We find references to many rivers of Haryana in the Vedic and later Sanskrit literature. They are : the Sarasvatī, Āpayā, Oghavatī, Madhussravā, Vaitaraṇi, Dṛṣadvatī, Rākṣī Vinaśana, Ratnāvālī, Amśumatī, etc. Identification of these rivers is as follows :

According to Zimmer [*Altindisches*, Leben, 18], the Vedic river Āpayā flowed very near to the Sarasvatī river, either as a small tributary which flows past Thānesar or modern Indumatī further west; while Pischel [*Vedische Studien*, 1892, II, p. 218] assigns it to Kurukṣetra. Cunningham [*CASR*, XIV, p. 89] even likes to identify the Āpagā with the Oghavatī river and opines that "Āpagā or Oghavatī is a branch of the Chitang which separates from the main stream a few miles to the west of Lāḍawā and flows past Palwala to Pabnāva where it is lost in the sands. Its whole length is about 25 miles." The *AP* (81.55-7, Suk. ed.) refers to the Āpagā river as flowing to the east of the Mānuṣā *tīrtha*.

According to the enumeration of the rivers in the *Rgveda* (X. 75.5), the Sarasvatī river comes between the Jumnā and the Sutlej (i.e., Yamunā and Śatudri respectively). The Indologists are of the opinion that the Sarasvatī is the same as Sarsuti which flows to the west of Thānesar and is joined in the Paṭilālā territory by a more westerly stream Ghaggar and passing Sirsā is lost in the desert at Bhaṭner; but a dry river bed (Hākṛā or Ghaggar) can be traced from that point to the Indus.¹³ On the other hand, K.C.

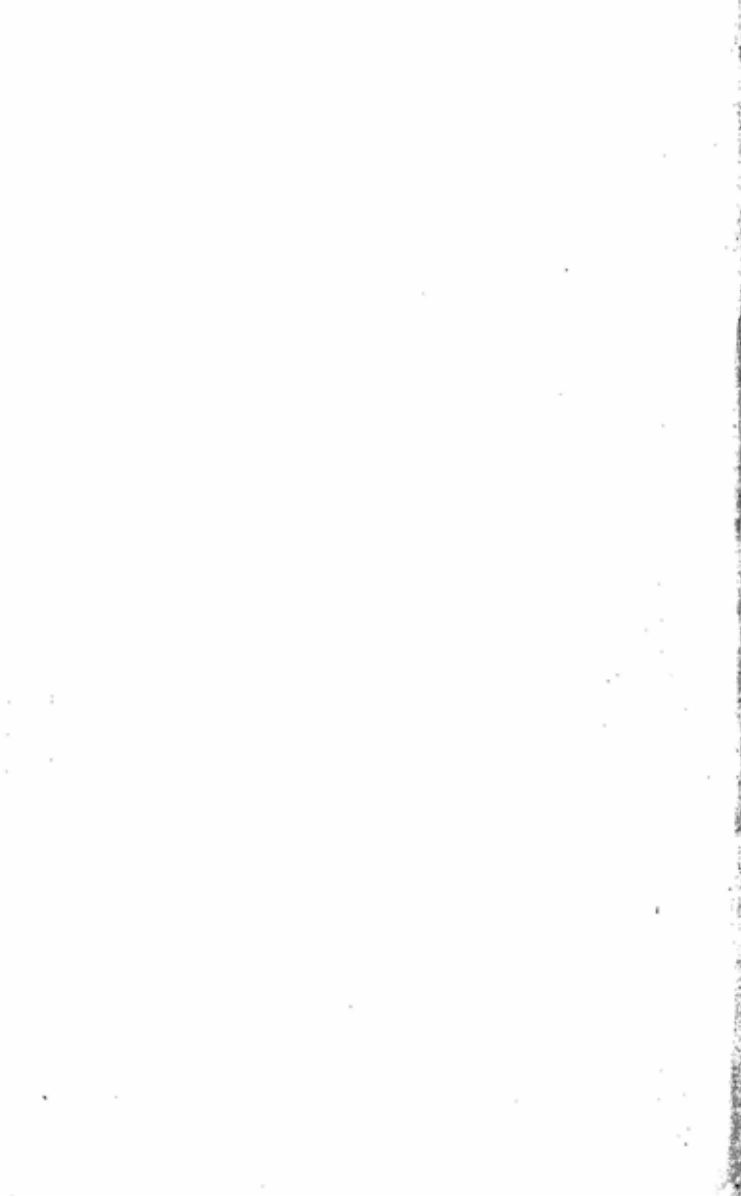
11. *The ancient Geography of India*, London, 1871, p. 335.

12. For details see *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXXIII, part I, pp. 85-90

13. *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 434-5; *CASR*, XIV, p. 88, *ibid.*, II, p. 216; *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 323, 363; B.C. Law, *Geographical Essays*, 1937, London, pp. 86-7.



One of the sacred tanks at Kurukshetra



Chatṭopādhyāya¹⁴ tried to prove "that in the earlier portions of the *R̥gveda* the river Sarasvatī stands for the Indus and in the 10th *Maṇḍala* of the same work it denotes the Sarsutī in Kurukṣetra".

The *Śalya Parva* seems to suggest that the name Sarasvatī was given to seven rivers¹⁵ called *Suprabhā*, *Kāñcanākṣī*, *Viśālā*, *Manoramā*, *Oghavatī*, *Sureṇu* and *Vimalodakā*. The *Sureṇu-Sarasvatī* is said to have appeared in Kurukṣetra as a result of Kuru's penance while the *Oghavatī-Sarasvatī*, happened to come to that locality because of the severe austerities performed by sage Vasiṣṭha.¹⁶

Cunningham likes to consider only seven rivers of the region and omits the names of the Madhussravā and the Vaitaraṇī (*CASR.*, XIV. 89). In his opinion, the Madhussravā denotes a pool while the Vaitaraṇī is identical with the Dṛṣadvatī or the Rākṣī. Cunningham also states that there is a place of pilgrimage in Kurukṣetra still called the *Sapta-Sarasvatī*¹⁷ after the seven ancient rivers of the region. As a matter of fact the Sarasvatī river was first of the Vedic rivers and its banks witnessed the development of the Vedic sacrifices (*Vedic Age*, 1951, London, p. 242).

As regards the identification of the river Vinaśana, B.C. Law (*Geographical Essays*, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-7) is of the opinion that "Vinaśana was the traditional boundary and extremity of Āryāvarta and Madhyadeśa. In the *R̥gvedic* age, it was a mighty river and flowed into the sea [*Maxmuller, R̥gveda Saṃhita*, p. 46]. It disappears for a time in the sand near the village of Chalaur and reappears at Bhavānīpura. At Bālchāpur it again disappears but appears again at Baṛṭā Kheṛā; at Urnai near Peheoā (ancient Pṛthūdaka) it is joined by the Mārkaṇḍā and the united stream

14. *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta, XV, as cited in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, III, p. 663.

15. B.C. Law, *Geographical Essays* also.

16. Sātavalekar ed., 38, pp. 258 ff., verses 27 ff. for *Sureṇu-Sarasvatī* and *Oghavatī-Sarasvatī*.

17. For *Sapta-Sarasvatī* in the *MB.*, consult Sātav. ed., 38.32 ff. and *AP.*, Suk. en., 81.97 ff.

bearing still the name of Sarasvatī and ultimately joins the Ghaggar or Gharghar which was evidently the lower part of Sarasvatī".

Dṛṣadvatī is a name given to the river which flows into the Sarasvatī after running parallel to it for sometime [*Vedic Index*, I, p. 374]. It was regarded to have been a very sacred river forming one extremity of the boundary of Kurukṣetra along with the Sarasvatī. The confluence (*saṅgama*) of Dṛṣadvatī and Kauṣikī rivers was considered to be a very sacred spot indeed [*VP*, 81., 80, Suk. ed.]

The Dṛṣadvatī has been identified by B.C. Law (*Geographical Essays*, p. 91) with "modern Chitang¹⁸ (or Chitrang or Chautang) which runs parallel to Sarasvatī". Law also adds that "Elphinstone and Todd sought to identify it with Ghagga flowing through Ambālā and Sindh but now lost in the desert sands of Rājaputānā (*JASB*, VI, p. 181), while Cunningham¹⁹ (*CASR*, XIV, p. 88) found in it the river Rākṣī that flows to the southeast of Thāneśvara. According to the *Vāmana Purāṇa* (XXXIV), a branch of this river was Kauṣikī".²⁰ Cunningham (*CASR*, XIV, p. 88) even suggests that probably "Vaitaraṇī may be only another name for Dṛṣadvatī or Rākṣī, as it was the name of the mother of Rākṣasa."

A three year *Satra* (sacrific) was performed at Kurukṣetra, on the very bank of the Dṛṣadvatī when the Paurava king named Adhiśma Kṛṣṇa, the Bārhadratha ruler Senajit and the Aikṣavāka ruler Divākar were in power.²¹

According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*²² (LIX, 127-8) the original name of this river (Dṛṣadvatī) was "Ratnāvālī" but it came to be

18. Cunningham (*CASR*, XIV, p. 89) states that the ancient names of several important rivers as Mārkaṇḍā, Nakaṣī, Chitang or Chatang etc., remain quite unknown so far.

19. He also states here that Kauṣikī-junction still exists near the village called Balu and the Rākṣī (Rākṣī) river flows 17 miles to the south of Thānesar.

20. *Vedic Index*, II, p. 95. fn. 9 quoting the river Kauṣikī as a tributary of the Sarasvatī.

21. S.N. Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, 1927, Calcutta, p. 76.

22. Also D.R. Patil, *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa*, p. 275.

called the Dṛṣadvatī in the Kali age. The town called Vāyupura, was situated on its bank (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, Ānandāśrama Granthamālā, p. 205).

The *Ādi Parva* (Suk. ed., chap. 3, verses 144 ff.) refers to Kurukṣetra as having been situated on the bank of the river Ikṣumatī²³. Takṣaka (the great Serpent King) and Aśvasena used to live here in Kurukṣetra along the river Ikṣumatī.²⁴

It was on the bank of the Amśumatī river that Indra is said to have slain the demon called Kṛṣṇāsura (*Rg Veda*, VIII. 96. 13; *Atharva Veda*, I. 4. 1). According to the author of *The Hindī Vīśvakośa* (*op. cit. s.v. Kurukṣetra*), "this river can well be identified which Amśumatī of the, *Kurupradīpa* and Ambumatī of the *Vana Parva* (Chap. 81). It has also been stated in the *Vana Parva* that Sūtīrthaka *tīrthha* was situated on the bank of the river Ambumatī.

Forests in this region

The *Vāmana Purāṇa* (chap. XXXIV) furnishes the following names of the forests (*vana*)²⁵ in the Haryana region :—

शृणु सप्तवनानि इह कुरुक्षेत्रस्य. मध्वतः ।
 येषां नामानि पुण्यानि सर्वपाप हरणानि च ॥३॥
 काम्यकं च वनं पुण्यं तथा अदिति वनं महत् ।
 व्यासस्य च वनं पुण्यं फलकीवनमेव च ॥४॥
 तथा सूर्यवनं स्थानं तथा मधुवनं महत् ।
 पुण्य शीतवनं नाम सर्वकल्पमनारामम् ॥५॥

(a) The Kāmyaka forest was situated on the bank of the river Sarasvatī [*AP.*, Suk. ed., chap. 6, verses 3.5] and was even visited by the Pāṇḍavas and Vidura.

Even *Dharmarāja* Yudhiṣṭhira had seen that forest [*A.P.*, II. II].

23. Also read as Ikṣuvatī, Ikṣumatī, Ikṣunadī etc.

24. *Ādi Parva*, 1906, Bombay, chap. 3, 140-1; cf. Suk. ed., verses 144-6.

25. *CASR.*, XIV, p. 91 also.

(b) The *Vanaparva*²⁶ presents a graphic view of the Dvaita-forest. It was full of the *Śāla* trees [*V.P.*, Suk. ed., III 26. 1—*सल्लाननम् सरस्वतीसालवनेषु वेषु*]. It was here that the Pāṇḍavas had offered oblations to their ancestors (*ibid.*, 26. 2-3). The place became prosperous and continued to remain an abode of the sages and the Brāhmaṇas till the stay of the Pāṇḍavas there (*ibid.*, Chap. 27). It was from this forest that the Pāṇḍavas had left for the Kāmyaka *vana* (*ibid.*, 26.28). There is of course no doubt that the Dvaita *vana* was very near to the river Sarasvatī (*ibid.*, 174.21). The *Vāmana Purāṇa* (*op. cit.*, XXII. 12-14) refers to the visit (of Urvaśī) to Dvaita-*vana*.

(c) The Phalakī *vana* was also very sacred (*AP.*, 81. 72-74).

In the words of Alexander Cunningham (*CASR.*, XIV, p. 91) "in the map it will be seen that the names of the Sūrya *vana* and Solan *vana* belong to the two outside forests and that a smaller *cakra* containing 7 forests might be made by leaving them altogether. This smaller space well would include all the famous places of pilgrimage as well as the great battlefield itself. On the west it would extend to farthest point of Pṛthūdaka²⁷ and on the south to Dāchor. And authority is not wanting for this smaller extent of the holy region as *kos* or *krośa* of the whole of N.W. India, from Delhi to Indus, is as nearly as possible 1½ miles or 7040 feet, agreeing with the smaller valuation of 4000 cubits...5 *Yojanas*, forming the side of the holy region, would thus be reduced to 25 miles and the whole circuit to about 100 miles. This limitation would exclude both Kaithal and Jind, both of which I strongly suspect to have been added to *cakra* in recent times to gratify the Sikh Rājās of those places. There is a Rāma-hrada near Rākṣī which is one of the 4 corners named in the *Māhabhārata*, 17 miles to the south of Thānesar, from which point the boundry will incline to southwest to Dāchor along the old bed of the Rākṣī".

26. Suk. ed., chap. 25, verses 13-19.

27. Modern Peheoā in the Kaithal *tahsil* of the Karnāl district. It is about 16 miles west of Thānesar. Cf. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XX, p. 100.

Āśramas in this region

This region is also to be noted for the existence of various *āśramas* (hermitages) both inside and outside the *cakra* of Kurukṣetra.

- (i) Reference to the Kāmyaka *vana*²⁸ has already been made above. Being situated on the very banks of the sacred river Sarasvatī, it was immensely dear to the sages and the *munis* (*AP.*, Suk. ed., chap. 6.3). In fact it was abounding in everything that was good and sacred (*ibid.*, chap. 6. verse 5).
- (ii) The Dvaita *vana* "was covered, at the end of the summer with *śālas*, palms, *kadambas*, *sarjas*, *arjunas*, *karñikāras* clothed with flowers. The peacocks, *datyūhas*, *cakorās*, *varhīnas*, *kokilas* sat on the top of the highest trees and emitted their sweet notes. In that forest, the king also saw the leaders of the elephant herds, gigantic like hills with temporal juice trickling down in the season of rut and accompanied by the herds of she-elephants. And approaching the picturesque Bhogavatī, he saw many ascetics of the accomplished piety in that forest in the hermitages of pious and purified souls and wearing bark and matted locks". Such is the vivid description²⁹ of the environments in which the Hindu sages used to pass their time in severe austerities and penance.
- (iii) The *Āraṇyaka Parva* (Suk. ed., chap. 98, 12-18) furnishes equally with an interesting account of the Dadhīci's *āśrama*.
- (iv) An extensive but important hermitage near Kurukṣetra has been alluded to in the *Śalya Parva*. It had the proud privilege of producing "two notable women hermits. There, leading from youth the vow of *brahmacarya*, a

28. *VP.*, 183; R.K. Mookerjee, *Ancient Indian Education*, 1947, London, p. 335.

29. The *V.P.*, as translated by M.N. Dutt, 1896, p. 36, verses 17-20, chap. 25.

Brāhmin maiden was crowned with ascetic success and ultimately acquiring *Yogic* powers, became a *tapassīdhā*; while another lady, daughter of a *kṣatriya*, a child not of poverty but of affluence, the daughter of a king (Śāṅḍilya by name), came to live there the life of celibacy and attained spiritual pre-eminence [R.K. Mookerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 335]. According to the narrative as given in the *Śalya Parva* [54. 1-12, edited by M.N. Dutt, translation, 1901], that hermitage was "overgrown with *madhuka* and mango trees and abounded with *plakṣas* and *nyagrodhas*." It contained many *vilvas* and many excellent jack and *arjuna* trees. Here god Viṣṇu formerly practised austere penances and duly celebrated all the eternal sacrifices."

Some Early Archaeological Finds

- (i) It was at Koṭalā Nihāṅ Khān in Ambala district that archaeological excavations³¹ brought to light sufficient Indus Valley antiquities testifying to the extension of this culture towards the Gangetic plain. Recently so many other such finds from many other places in Haryana have been reported (see chapter I). Recent excavations at Rūpar have brought to light 5 habitation-phases beginning from 2000 B.C. to 1700 A.C. The discovery of grey and N.B.P. Wares here at Rūpar is also very interesting indeed: (*The March of India*, VI, no. 3, Delhi, 1953, pp. 12-16; *Ancient India, Bull. of Arch. Surv. of India*, IX, pp. 123-6; *Indian Archaeology, 1953-4, A Review*, 1954, New Delhi, pp. 6-7 and plates; *ibid.*, 1955, pp. 9-11, 59 for Indus Valley Culture in the region of Rūpar).

30. The Vedic literature too refers to the growth of the *nyagrodha* trees in Kurukṣetra [*Altareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 30, Bombay ed., Śaka year 1812].

31. M.S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, 1940, Delhi, I, pp. 476-7. It was in the years 1953-5 too that excavations were conducted in the college area at Rūpar. Y.D. Sharma's paper in *The March of India*, Delhi VI (3), 1953, pp. 12-16; also *Indian Archaeology, A Review 1953-4 and 1954-55*, New Delhi, for more sites near Rūpar.

- (ii) B.B. Lal was able to discover certain pieces of the *Painted Grey Ware*³² (of about 800 B.C.) at various places of this area i.e. at Amīn (5 miles from Kurukṣetra), Rājā-Karṇa-kā-Kilā at Kurukṣetra, Pehōā (ancient Prthūdaka, near Kurukṣetra), Pānipat, etc. (*Ancient India*, X-XI, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-141).
- (iii) D.B. Spooner (*ASR.*, 1922-3, pp. 89-90) opined that the ancient mound named Rājā-Karṇa-kā-Kilā at Thānesar might well date back from the Pre-Buddhist period. But he regretted about the utter absence of any material bearing upon the history of the region in those good old days. Spooner (*ibid.*, 1921-2, p. 46) also states that "Kurukṣetra is frequently alluded to in the Buddhist *Jātakas*, the most important reference to it being in the *Mahāsutasoma Jātaka*".
- (iv) The famous Toprā (Ambālā district; *CASR.*, XIV, pp. 78 ff.) pillar³³ edicts of Dharmarāja Aśoka bear testimony to the importance of this place as a stronghold of the Mauryan administration. The discovery of some uninscribed cast coins at Sugha³⁴ (ancient Srughna in the Ambālā Dist.) is also very interesting (*Report*, p. 24). These coins mostly bear a *caitya* on one side and a lion or an elephant on the other. Cunningham (*Geography of Ancient India*, 1924, Calcutta, p. 397) reports that the

32. B.B. Lal's paper on *The Painted Grey Ware of the Upper Gangetic Basin*, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Letters) N.S.* XVI, 1950 pp. 89 ff.; also *Ancient India*, X-XI, pp. 138 ff. for such sites in the region of Hissar and Rohtak.

33. Now preserved in the Feroz Shāh's Kojalā at Dehli. See *Indian Antiquary* XVII; *Epigraphia Indica*, II, pp. 245 ff; *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, I, p. 119; D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, Calcutta, 1942, pp. 55 ff. for the text of these pillar-edicts. Consult Elliot's *History of India*, London, III, pp. 250-1 about the account of the transfer of the pillar to Delhi in the time of Feroz Shāh Tughlak.

34. Srughna has also been referred to in the accounts of Yuan Chwang and the *Mahāmāyūrī Sraughnaḥ* of Pāṇini (*India*, p. 431). Srughna was of course an important town in ancient days.

area of Sugha, Māṇḍalapur, Būriā and Jagādharī has yielded coins ranging from the square punch-marked to the times of the Cauhān and the Tomara Rājās of Delhi. Thus he rightly asserts that Sugha, a site of the punch-marked coins, is at least as old as 500 B.C., if not 1000 B.C. Archaeological explorations and excavations at this site may push back this antiquity to a still earlier period. It is extremely essential to study the site with the help of a scientific spade. It is situated only 38 or 40 miles from Thānesar and stands on the high road leading from the Gangetic Doāb (via Meerut, Sahāranpur, Ambālā) to the Upper Panjab and commands the passage of the Jumnā river. It was by this route that Mahmūd of Ghazni returned from his expeditions to Kanauj. Timur too visited this route while returning from his plundering campaign of Haridwār; and Bābar advanced to conquer Delhi by this side (Cunningham, *ibid.*, pp. 396-8). For Sugha, also consult S. Beal, *Records of the Western Countries*, I, pp. 186 to 188 and f. notes; Varāhamihira's *Vṛhatsaṃhitā*, XVI. 21 and translation on p. 178 as edited by V. Subrahmanya Sāstrī, 1947, Bangalore City; *CASR.*, II, pp. 228-31; *ibid.*, XIV, p. 134; Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India*, 1924, Calcutta, pp. 395-398; *Dey*, p. 194. The recent excavations at Rūpar also yielded a small ivory seal inscribed with the word *Bhadapalakasa* in the *Brāhmī* script of the Mauryan period (*Indian Archaeology 1953-4 A Review, op. cit.*, p. 6).

The N.B.P. Ware occurs at Pānīpat (29° 10' North Lat. and 75° 56' East. Long.) higher than the Painted Grey Ware (*Ancient India, op. cit.*, X-XI, p. 145). It also occurs at Sonapat (*ibid.*).

It has not yet been possible to study the early coins³⁵ from the Haryana region. Archaeological excavations in this area

35. D.B. Spooner (*ASR*, 1921-2, p. 47) states that very ancient coins are said to have been found at Amīn (5 miles from Kurukṣetra) but no record of these coins is traceable. Amīn is situated at 29° 54' North Lat. and 76° 52' East Long. The Painted Grey Ware has been found here too [*Ancient India*, X-XI, p. 138]

may help us in throwing some light on the early history of the locality.

Following are some of the towns of Haryāṇā as known to Pāṇini :—

- (i) Kapisthala³⁶ (VIII. 3.91) is modern Kaithal in the Karnāl district.
- (ii) Śoṇaprasṭha is modern Sonapat (28° 59' N. Lat., 70° 1' E. Lon).
- (iii) Roṇi³⁷ (iv. 2. 78) is probably Roḍi in Hissar district.
- (iv) Tauṣāyaṇa³⁸ (*Pakṣādigaṇa*, IV. 2.80) is modern Ṭohānā, a place of historical and archaeological interest in Fatahbad tahsil of district Hissar.
- (v) Śairīṣaka³⁹ (IV. 2.80) is modern Sirsā, a sub-divisional headquarter in Hissar district.
- (vi) Yugandhara⁴⁰ (i.e. Jagādharī, District Ambala),
- (vii) Srughna (see fn. 34 above).
- (viii) Kalakūṭa (IV. 1. 173) was probably modern Kalka in the Simla Hills (*India*, P. 54)
- (ix) Gauḍapura (vi. 2. 100) is probably *Gauḍa-grāma* or Gurgaon in the south-east Panjab (*JUPHS.*, XVI (i), p.42)

The Bharatas have been mentioned as an *āyudhajīvi saṅgha* by Pāṇini. Dr. Agrawala (*India*, p. 451) thinks that "It must be some old tradition, otherwise Pāṇini locates them in the Kuru region on the border land of the Udīcyā and Prācyā divisions of India. According to another *sūtra*, the Kurus lived under a regal form of government. It seems these Bharatas lived round about Kuru-kṣetra as a *saṅgha* in Pāṇini's time."

36. *India*, pp. 71, 65; *Report*, pp. 19-30; Dey, p. 92.

37. *ibid.*, p. 71

38. *ibid.*, p. 72; *JUPHS*, XVI (i), p. 49.

39. *India*, p. 72. It is situated on the north side of the dry bed of the river Ghaggar, having considerable ancient ruins and has also been referred to in the *Mahābhārata* (*JUPHS*, XVI (i), pp. 50-1; Dey, p. 181) referring to Vinaśana *tirtha* near Sirsā; Cf. *ibid.*, p. 256; *JUPHS*, XVI (i), p. 49.

40. Yugandharī of the *Mahābhārata*.

Post Mauryan Coins and Seals

Birbal Sahni happened to publish some Śuṅga antiquities from the Khokrākoṭa mound at Rohtak. They include a square terracotta seal (ordinary) and a round sealing baked in clay. Birbal Sahni⁴¹ has given the following description of this important find :—

Size :—24 × 24 m.m.

Obv. :—There is an inscription from left to right—

(1) *bhadra mitra*

(2) *śya droṇīghā (śe)*

in the *Brāhmī* characters.

Rev. :—Smooth and convex and it shows two perforations (indicated by arrows) where the string was probably attached to fix the sealing to an article, possibly a document sent to Rohtak.

Sahni quotes K.P. Jayaswal according to whom the owner of the sealing was "the Officer-in-charge of the pass over the *droṇī* (valley; Hindi *dūna*) which must have been in the Śiwālaks, probably identical with Dehrādūn." C.R. Singhal (*Bibliography of Indian Coins*, I, 1950, Bombay, p. 24) cites the remarks of Jayaswal (expressed in *JBORS.*, XXIII, p. 148) : "Bhadramitra evidently was the Yaudheya Officer-in-charge of the *dūna*; and the second line of the legend would better be read as *droṇīpāla* instead of *droṇīghā (śe)*."

A hoard of about 136 Yaudheya-coins was recovered from the village Panja in Jaunsar-Bāwar area of Dehrādūn district in 1936. It was really interesting to observe the utter absence of the early Yaudheya coins in that hoard. On the other hand, the coins furnished by this hoard were closely associated with the Kuṇḍa coins both in style and type (*JNSI.*, II, p. 109). In these circumstances it appears hardly plausible to consider Bhadramitra of the Rohtak seal as a Yaudheya officer. Future discoveries are

41. *Current Science*, V, Aug. 1936, pp. 81 ff. Both are surface finds. Jayaswal has assigned second century B.C. as the probable date of this sealing.

awaited to throw some light on the history and lineage of this Bhadramitra.

Agāca Coins

Coins bearing the legends *Agodake agāca janapada* or *Agodakā agācaja* etc., were described by Allan (*op. cit.*, 1936, Introduction, pp. clvii-viii) in the uncertain category of the ancient Indian coins. Allan has also stated that a number of such coins was procured by Rodgers at Barwāllā. P.L. Gupta has tried to prove⁴² that at Agrohā (Hissar) existed a tribe named *Agra* and that *Agāca* is the Prākṛt corruption of Sanskrit *Agreya*. *Agodaka* of the coins is the same as *Agrotaka* as found in an epigraph of 1328 A.C. (*EI*, I, pp. 93 ff.). The site, about 13 miles from Hissar, yielded quite a large number of antiquities including stone fragments, terracottas, large size bricks, etc. (*Report*, pp. 41-3).⁴³

A stone ball with Ancient symbols

The excavations at the site of Rājā-Karṇa-Kā-Kilā brought to light a stone ball, weighing about 7 tolās of the Indian weight. D.B. Spooner (*ASR.*, 1921-2, p. 49) has furnished the following details of the same:—"There are sketched on it a number of sacred symbols including a pair of fish joined by a piece of string, a *swastika*, a *nandipada*—similar to the symbol which begins the Khāravēla inscription, a rectangle with diagonals, a device consisting of two triangles joined at the apex, a circle, a three pointed star and what appears to be a *swastika* without the fourth arm. The exact purpose of these symbols is unknown." To me it appears that the peculiar ball, under reference, might have been used for weighing purpose at a time when coins having these very symbols were in frequent currency in the Indian markets. It is of course a conjecture and nothing can be said with definiteness at this moment.

42. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, IV, pp. 49 ff; Cf. C.R. Singhal, *Bibliography of Indian Coins*, I, 1950, Bombay, p. 22.

43. For a detailed account of the excavations at Agrohā, consult H.L. Srivastava, *Excavations at Agrohā (Punjab)*, *MAI*, No. 61, Delhi, 1952; *EI*, I, p. 93; L.D. Barnett, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, 1940, X, pp. 277-84; *JUPHS*, XVII (i), pp. 19-20.

Śuṅga Sculptures and Terracottas

(a) It is also essential to refer to a *yakṣa* statue from Palwal and illustrated by V.S. Agrawala in the *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, XXIV-XXV, p. 188, figure 4. According to Agrawala (*ibid.*), "the statue consists of the head and bust of a colossal *Yakṣa* image of red sandstone. It was found at Palwal in Gurgaon District in 1914 and is now deposited in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow (0.107). The figure is wearing on the head a conical turban with tiered folds, big round discs in cloven ear-lobes, a double flat crescent-shaped torque, a flat triangular necklace, armlets with triple vertical projections and four heavy wristlets. The right hand is raised towards the shoulder and holds a conchlike tapering object, now mutilated. There are traces of a scarf looped on right elbow. On the back are shown pendant tassels of the necklace. The style of the turban, the torque and the necklace and the armlets with feathered projections seen in the side view, *all point to the image being an early Yakṣa type that may be assigned to the early Śuṅga period, about second century B.C.* The object in the right hand is unfortunately not very distinct and therefore the identification with Kubera is far from certain."

(b) Some interesting Śuṅga terracottas recovered from the excavations at Rūpar, have been illustrated by Y.D. Sharma in *Ancient India, op. cit.*, IX, p. 126, plate 50 A and B. They are able to throw a flood of light on the plastic art of the region during the Post-Mauryan period.

(c) About 5 miles to the S.S.E. of Thānesar lies the small village of Amīn,⁴⁴ situated on an ancient huge mound measuring about 2000 feet in length (from north to south), 800 feet in width and about 25 to 30 feet in height. This is considered to have been the traditional site of the *Cakra vyūha* where the armies were arranged at the time of the famous battle of Mahābhārata. The

44. There exists an ancient temple of Aditi and a *Sūrya-kunḍa* here. The ladies, who are desirous of having issues, like to bathe in this *kunḍa*. Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1924, p. 386; *ASR*, 1922-3. pp. 89-90; *Report*, p. 14; *CASR*, XIV, pp. 97ff.

name Amin seems to have been a contraction of Abhimanyu (son of Arjuna)-*kheḍa* (i.e., mound). It was here that two inscribed red stone rectangular pillars were discovered and are said to have been preserved in the Thākurji shrine on the west bank of the tank called *Sūraj-kunḍa* (*ASR.*, 1921-2, p. 47; 1922-3 *ibid.*, plate V.e.) No detailed account of these pillars has so far been furnished by any scholar. "They are carved on all the four sides and have no sockets for crossbars. They would thus appear to have supported some sort of a platform." Besides this, D.B. Spooner⁴⁵ (*ASR.*, 1921-2, p. 47) states that the "inscriptions on them are in the characters of the Kuṣāṅa period but are quite short and merely supply the names of their donors." But this dating by Spooner does not tally with the art of the times. In fact the depiction of the dress and the ornaments of the persons, so finely carved on these pillars, appear to have been the work of Some Śuṅga artists. A. Coomarswami⁴⁶ has also placed these pillars somewhere in the Śuṅga period. Following are the details of these sculptured posts under reference :—

- (i) *Pillar to the left side* :—It depicts a male person (in the *sthānaka mudrā*) who wears a typical Śuṅga turban⁴⁷ on the head, a necklace of 4 strings round the neck and a *dhotī* covering the lower portion of the body and coming up to the knees. This *dhotī* has been tightened with the help of a *kāyabandha* (waist-cloth). The standing person has caught hold of one of the ends of this *kāyabandha* in his left hand while the other end of it is hanging down below. The right hand is placed towards the right side of the chest and holds a lotus in it. He wears the long *karṇakunḍalas* in the ears but he appears bare-footed. From the looks of this person it appears that he is some

45. He even thinks (*ASR.*, 1922-3, p. 90) that these "two sculptured posts, in red stone of the Kuṣāṅa age, must have been imported from Mathurā".

46. *A History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 1927, London. p. 32; V. S. Agarwala, *JUPHS VI* (2), figures 12, 17.

47. For typical head-dress as depicted in the Śuṅga art of India, consult Dr. Moti Chandra's book *Prācīna Bhāratīya Vēḷa Bhāṣā*, (Hindi), *Samvat 2007*, Allahabad, p. 66, figures 35 and 36.

Yakṣa pondering over some problem out of great anxiety. The front portions of his arms, being somewhat covered by some cloth, do not depict any ornaments round this portion of his body. Just above the head of this person have been carved two full bloomed lotuses and around all this (i.e., the lotuses and the person) can be seen floral designs, along the rectangular edges of the slab: (cf. *JUPHS*, VI. 2. figure 17, p. 105, fn. where Agrawala considers the depiction of a *padma-pāṇi Yakṣa* on this pillar).

- (ii) *Pillar to the right side* :—This piece too is very interesting for it seems to represent some amorous scene. It depicts a male and female standing bare-footed very close to each other. The lady wears the typical head-dress (i.e., a turban) of the Śuṅga times and looks at the male person (standing to her left) with a smiling face. Her left arm, placed round the neck of this person, touches his left shoulder. Similarly the right hand of the latter touches her left shoulder. The lady here wears three necklaces, the beads of which are clearly visible. She also puts on heavy *kuṇḍalas* in her ears. The breasts of the lady appear to be quite heavy. Both these persons are putting on *dhotīs* up to the knees. The ornaments, appearing in the front portion of the hands of the lady, have covered the entire portion from the elbow to the beginning of her palm. This reminds us of the existing fashion⁴⁸ of wearing bangles by the Rājasthāni ladies even now in the 20th century A.C. It is much more interesting to find that the lower portion of the legs of the lady (in the above Kurukṣetra panel) has also been covered by the rings which reach her ankles. She wears the *dhotī* in the

48. Of course there are no bangles worn (by the lady of the Kurukṣetra panel under study) on the upper portion of the arm. For similar ornamentation in the Śuṅga period, consult *Prācīna Bhāratiya Veśa Bhāṣā*, op. cit., figures 51-2 facing p. 73.

current *Marāṭhī* style and there appears a girdle on the *dhotī* here; the beads of the girdle are quite visible. Above it has been tied a *kāyabandha* (round the waist), the ends of which are hanging down below. Her left leg has taken a turn behind her right leg and is placed on some object which looks like a stool or *ḍamaru*. Her right arm, stretching down below, is visible on one side. The male person holds a wine cup (in his left hand) which is placed near his chest but towards the left portion of the lady. The former here wears a necklace in the same fashion as put on by the person already cited in the first panel above. Agrawala (*ibid.*, figure 12) is justified in tracing the depiction of *Yakṣa-mithuna* here.

Kuṣāṇa and Pre-Kuṣāṇa Finds

(a) The excavations on the mound of Rājā-Karṇa-kā-Kilā at Thānesar yielded an Indo-Bactrian large silver coin of Hermaios (ASR., 1922-3, p. 87). A hemidrachm of Apollodotus and one of Antimachus were also recovered by Rodgers at Jagādharī (*Report*, p. 24). The discovery of a hoard of quite a large number of coins (883 in number) of Menander from Sonapat is of course very interesting (cf. *Numismatic Chronicle*, London, 1872, p. 159). It is quite possible that this region too fell a prey to the attack of Menander who had penetrated as far as Maḍhyamikā (Modern Nagari, Chittaur district of Udaipur State) and Sāketa⁴⁹ (modern Ayodhyā, U. P.).

(b) The Kuṣāṇas, who ruled North India as far as Mathurā and Banāras, had also subjugated the region of Haryana. The Theh Polar⁵⁰ site (Karnāl district) yielded some rude imitations of those coins of Vāsudeva which were adopted by the foreign ruling chiefs of the Punjab towards the 3rd or 4th centuries A.C. (ASR.,

49. Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (III, 2. II) *arunat yavanāḥ saketam aruṇat yavanāḥ māḍhyamikām*.

50. Theh Polar marks the ancient site (at Karnāl) on the south bank of the Sarasvatī river. There is simply a tradition that it was the abode of Muni Paulastya—an ancestor of Rāvaṇa (Cf. ASR, 1930-4, p. 143).

1930—4, pp. 143 ff.). In one trench of the Theh Polar site were also found 2 debased copper coins bearing the figure of a Kuṣāṇa type of king at an altar (*ibid.*). Besides this, some other antiquities⁵¹ of this period, reported from Rājā-Karaṇa-kā-Kilā⁵², include:—

- (i) A terracotta sealing having a beautiful Indian bull on one side. This bull faces left. Above this animal appears a line of 5 minute letters "probably in the *Kharoṣṭhī* script" (*ASR.*, 1922-3, pp. 87-8). It is regretted that the sealing has not been illustrated by D. B. Spooner⁵³ in *ASR.*, 1922-3 cited just above.
- (ii) Spooner (*ibid.*) also refers to the large size bricks from the same place as belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period. They measure 14 to 14½ inches in length, 9 to 9½ inches in breadth and 2½ to 3 inches in thickness.
- (iv) A terracotta votive-tank has been recovered in a broken condition but it depicts sufficient details bearing close similarity to similar finds from Taxila, Ahicchatra, Kauśāmbī⁵⁴, etc. The corners of the Kurukṣetra votive tank depict one musician elevated on a platform, while the other is playing on a pair of cymbals, while two others are playing on a flute and a tabor respectively. The fourth musician is a female and the musical instrument held in her hand cannot be determined with certainty (*ASR.*, 1921-22, p. 48). Another terracotta

51. *ASR.*, 1922-3, pp. 87-8.

52. It is about 500 square feet at the top, 800 feet square at the base with height of 30-40 feet. Cf. *ASR.*, 1921-2, p. 48; *CASR.*, II, p. 220. There is a large stepwell here of the Muslim period.

53. It will be really interesting if the Deptt. of Archaeology in India brings it to light at an early date.

54. During the excavations at Kauśāmbī in years 1949 and 1950, I was able to recover several pieces of this type from the Scytho-Parthian levels which appeared just below the surface near the ancient site marked by the famous Aśoka pillar at Kosam: consult *Ancient India, op. cit.*, IV pp. 125 ff. and plates for the votive tanks and their distribution in India.

votive dish was found in a fragmentary condition (*ibid.*, p. 49).

(c) A fragmentary stone inscription (in the *Kharoṣṭhī* script), now preserved in the Lahore Museum, is said to have been recovered from Karnāl near Kurukṣetra. Sten Konow⁵⁵ has furnished the following reading of the same:—

*Sīdhi kri (śa) vi (nā) u (—putreṇa)
lapotreṇa ae puka (riṇī karavita).*

It refers to the construction of a pond (Skt. *puṣkariṇī*) by Kṛṣakavi, the identification of Kṛṣakavi being obscure.

(d) The region of Būriā, Sugha and Jagādhāri has yielded several Kuṇinda coins of king Amoghabhūti who is said to have been a chieftain of the famous Kuṇinda tribe (*Report*, p. 24) in the early centuries of the Christian Era. Similar coins have also been procured at Karnāl in the Kurukṣetra region (*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1875, p. 85 (J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum*, London, 1936, p. ciii of the introduction).

(e) It was more than 75 year ago that Rodgers procured a unique coin from Rūpar (district Ambala) which bore the same legend in *Brāhmī* on one side and in *Kharoṣṭhī* on the other. Rodgers read the legend as *rājā ajamitra* on both the sides (*Report*, p. 38). He also states that there was the figure of an elephant on the obverse of it and of a man or woman on the reverse. Rodgers is of the opinion that "this coin is not at all like the *mitra* coins", found in abundance in the Uttara Pradeśa. It is regretted that the coin has not been illustrated by Rodgers. The existing coin of course adds one more name to the list of the rulers who issued a currency having the legend in *Brāhmī* on one side and in *Kharoṣṭhī* on the other. It is just possible that Ajamitra was some local ruler whose regime could not have lasted long. Perhaps he had issued his coinage imitating the coins of the Kuṇindas.

55. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, II, (i); Calcutta, 1929, p. 179.

(f) The ancient site of Rohtak⁵⁶ also yielded a coin-mould which, according to V. S. Agrawala, was perhaps used to cast some coin of Huvīṣka—the great Kuṣāṇa chief (*JNSI.*, XV, i, pp. 68-9).

(g) It was on the 7th July, 1967, that the Archaeological Survey of India was informed about the discovery of a carved lion-capital fragment from the ancient mound of Khokrākoṭa at Rohtak.⁵⁷ It was later on transferred to the National Museum at New Delhi for proper preservation and display in the Archaeology Section. It measures 3 feet in width and 18 inches in height.

The existing lion-capital from Rohtak is carved out of white-spotted red sand stone in the art of Kuṣāṇa period. It presents four lions, two in front and two on the back side. It was executed in first-second century A.D. It is far superior to the inscribed lioncapital from Mathura exhibited in the British Museum at London.⁵⁸ On one side of the Khokrākoṭa specimen, we notice two winged lions (*sapakṣa śiṃha*) in seated pose and facing opposite directions as also in the contemporary art of Mathura⁵⁹ [*Fig. 1*]. This motif is very well executed at Sanchi⁶⁰, notably on the front side of the Eastern Gateway. Some of the back side reliefs, on Sānchi Gateway, depict couchant lions but with riders *i.e.* a male person on one side and a female on the other.⁶¹ This particular motif is very well carved on the back side of Khokrākoṭa lion-capital under study [*Fig. 2*]; the lions are completely devoid of wings on this side; to left is a lady (*Yakṣī*) whereas the right figure represents a male *Yakṣa* extending (with his right hand) a

56. Ancient *Rohitaka*, the famous seat of the Yaudheya Republic.

57. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, 1942, Calcutta, p. 116 and plate. It may be dated towards the beginning of the first century A.D.

58. V.A. Smith, *Jain Stupa of Mathura*, 1901, Allahabad, plate 49, figure 2.

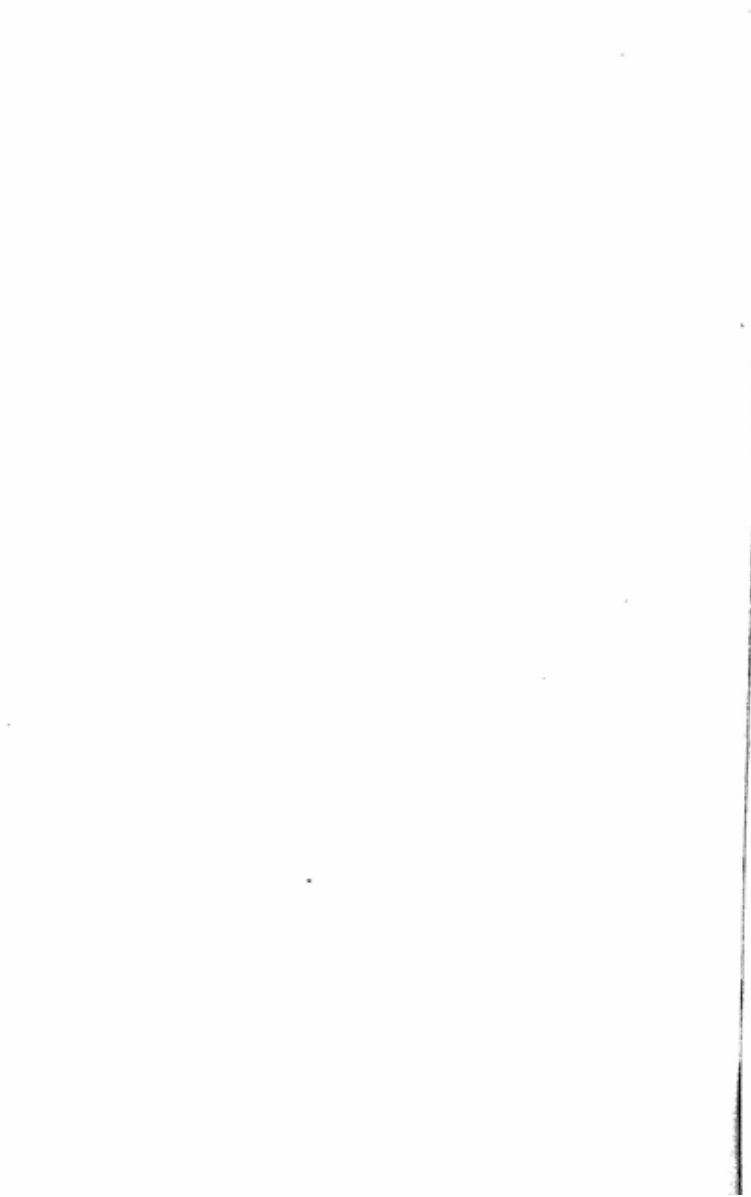
59. L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, II, Paris, 1929, plate 50. Here we have adorsed goat and bull capitals as well.

60. *Ibid.*, plate 51.

61. Smith, *op. cit.*, plate 50. Here also the width of the capital is 3 feet as of Khokrākoṭa capital under study.



PLATE I. LION CAPITAL FROM KHOKARAKOTA



cup of wine towards his spouse in a happy mood. Both of them hold the reins of the lions in a traditional manner as also on the lion-capital from Kañkālī Tīlā at Mathura⁶². It appears that the sculptors of Rohtak specimen had faithfully followed the sculptural traditions from Mathura, even more successfully. Capitals with genii riding on addorsed lions may well be seen in the art of Deccan as well, such as on the pillars of caves nos. 3 and 10 at Nasik. Besides this, we come across the winged-sphinx and animal capitals in the famous caves at Pītalkhorā⁶³ and Chaitya Cave at Kārle where D.D. Kosambi suggests some Greek influence⁶⁴. The winged lions may bespeak of Persian impact on early Indian Art.

The carving of *Swastika* symbol below the ear of every lion, in Khokrākoṭa lion-capital, is also worth-taking note of. There is also a big hole in the centre of the fragment on the top; it was probably intended as a socket to support some heavy sculptural relief from above. The existing lion-capital therefore appears to have once graced the upper position of some Kuṣāṇa gateway or pillar at Rohtak. *It is far superior in workmanship in comparison with identical specimens from Mathura region.* Another fragment of this type has not been recovered from Haryana so far. It is therefore a welcome addition to the rich collections of National Museum and ancient art of Haryana in particular.

The credit of this discovery must be given to the Archaeological Survey of India who got the lion-capital photographed at Rohtak at their own cost. The photographs, accompanying this paper, have been supplied by the Director, National Museum, New Delhi. The same were prepared from the previous negatives of the Archaeological Survey, Dehradun. Mr. Krishna Deva was

62. M.N. Deshpande, "The Rock Cut Caves of Pītalkhora", *Ancient India*, New Delhi, XV, 1959, p. 73, plate 49 B.

63. D.D. Kosambi, "Dhenukākāṣa", *JASB*, Bombay, XXX (2), 1955, pp. 50-71 and plate between pages 68-69.

64. Also S.N. Chakraborty, *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*, 1931, Calcutta, p. 207.

kind enough to have allowed us to remove this important relic to the National Museum, at New Delhi on 27th July, 1967.

(h) Rodgers procured some coins of Gondophares and Amoghabhūti at Naraingarh (distt. Ambala; *Report*, p. 28). Describing the copper issues of the foreigners, he states that they bear a king's head and some Greek letters on the obverse, while the figure of Pallas and some *Kharosthī* letters appear on the reverse. These coins, according to Rodgers, weighed 30 grains.

(i) Cunningham (*CASR.*, p. 78) obtained 3 coins at Kapālamocana (Śiwālak hills) and one of these was "a small silver piece of the Indo-Sassanian type, with the letter *ma* between the two attendants at the fire altar". The remaining two copper coins were of Sāmantādeva. Rodgers procured a hemidrachm of Strato (helmeted king) and several coins of Menander in the bazars of Sāḍhaurā (Ambālā). He was informed by the local people that these coins had come from Kapālamocana, a place already referred to above (Rodgers, *Report*, p. 25).

(j) Two *Audumbara* coins and one coin of the Indo-Parthian ruler Soter Megas are some of the noteworthy antiquities from Rūpar (*March of India*, VI (3), pp. 12-16).

(k) Whitehead found a special type of the coins of Soter Megas in Delhi and Jagādhari and that variety was probably current in what is now called Haryana (R.B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum Lahore*, I, p. 162 fn. 1).

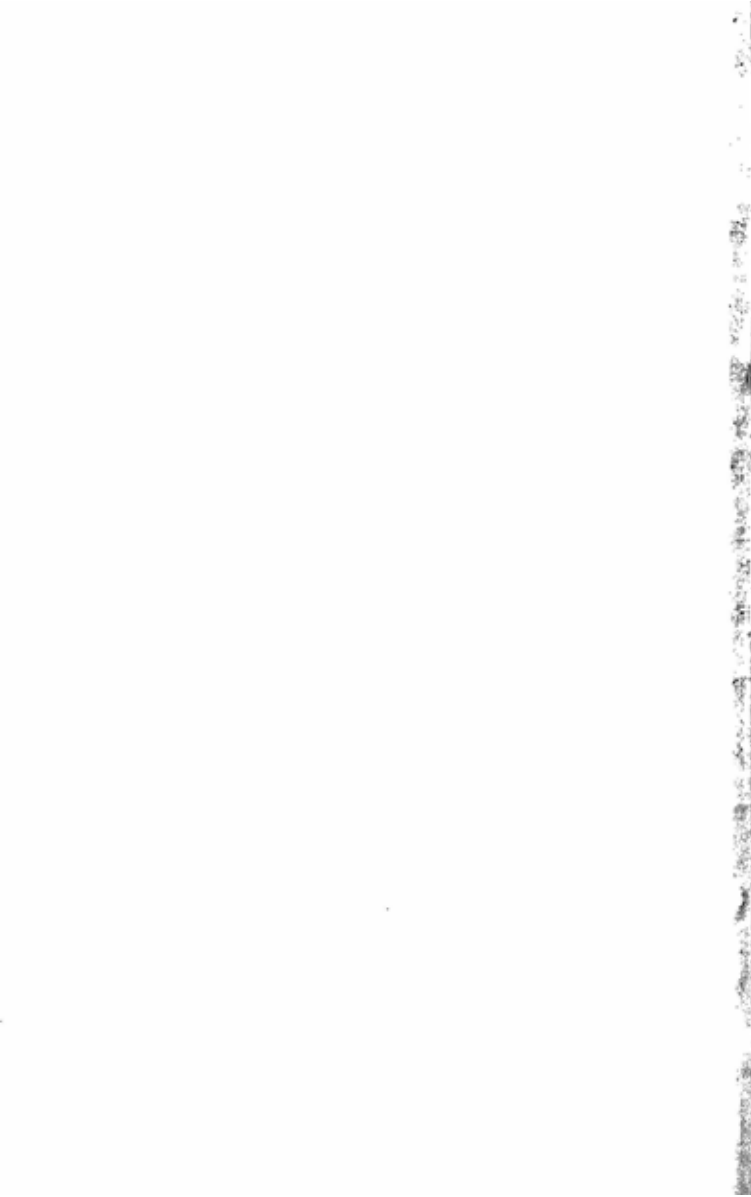
(l) The discovery of some more Kuṇinda coins from Karnāl (*JASB*, XLIV, p. 82, *Proc. A.S.B.*, 1875, p. 85) is also to be noted.

(m) It was from the ancient site of Rājā-Karṇa-Kā-Kilā that a rare large round copper coin⁶⁵ was excavated by Dayā Rām Sāhni about 25 years ago (*ASR.*, 1922-3, p. 87). It is regretted that it has not been published by Spooner in *ASR*, 1922-23. The well defined incuse here appears to be similar to that on the well

65. *Journal of U.P. Historical Society*, XXIII, 1950, p. 171.



PLATE 2. LION RIDERS ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE LION CAPITAL.



known Pañcāla series of coins. The name (on the Kurukṣetra coin) has been engraved in two lines and has been read thus:—*rajho Yajñajitasya*. The name of this *Yajñajita* is not available from any other source. According to Spooner, the script of the legend of this coin is of the second or third century A.C. Probably he was some local chief who might have risen to power for a little while, perhaps after Kuṣāṇa Vāsudeva II. He can also be placed somewhere in the period that followed the disintegration of the Kuṣāṇa regime towards the beginning of the third century A.C. In this connection it is essential to survey the political conditions of the Haryana region, Mathurā and Rājasthān before the beginning of the fourth century A.C.

On the basis of the early coin types of the Yaudheyas, it can be safely said that Kārtikeya was their *iṣṭadevatā*. P.L. Gupta states that in the second and the first century B.C., they occupied the Haryāṇā (Skt *Bahudhānyaka*) comprising Rohtak, Hissār, Sirsā, Karnāl and Gurgāon; and also the adjoining portion of the desert of Mārwar⁶⁶.

The Kuṣāṇa power was at its glory in the time of Kaniṣka and Huiṣka. That is why the Yaudheyas, a tribe closely associated with Rohitaka⁶⁷ (modern Rohtak), were not in a position to raise its head in revolt against the foreign yoke.⁶⁸ It was somewhere

66. But no Yaudheya coin has so far been discovered in Mārwar at least. It is not possible to agree with the views of Mr. Gupta put forth on pp. 172-3 of the paper cited above.

67. The *Yajñajitaka* of Somadeva presents a vivid view of the Yaudheya country (Vol. I, Bombay, 1901, pp. 12-22 as edited by Paṇḍit Śivadatta). The *Mahābhārata* refers to Rohitaka as the capital of the *Bahudhānyaka* country. It was dear to Skanda-Kārtikeya, rich in cows and grains, and the people inhabiting the place were called the *Mattamayūrakas* (*Sabhā Parva*, XXXII. 4-5). For the antiquities from Rohtak, consult *Proc. Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1881, pp. 70-2; *Current Science*, IV, 1936, pp. 796; *ibid.*, V, Aug. 1936 pp. 81 ff; *JBORS*, XXII, pp. 51-62.

68. At this time they were living somewhere in the north-east Rājaputānā. For the coins of the Yaudheyas from Rohtak, consult Birbal Sāhni, *Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, Bombay, 1945, pp. 4-32; *JBORS*, 1936, XXII, pp. 51-62.

in the middle of the second century A.C., that they revolted against the foreigners but were soon checked by Rudradāman—the famous Śaka Mahākṣatrap. In the opinion of A.S. Altekar⁶⁹, “the Yaudheyas made a second bid for independence towards the end of the second century A.D., came out successful in their venture and succeeded in freeing their homeland and ousting the Kuṣāṇas beyond the Sutlej. The coins of Kanīṣka III (180-210 A.D.) and Vāsudeva (210-240 A.D.) are not found to the east of the Sutlej; it is thus clear that they had lost all cis-Sutlej territories. On the other hand, the post-Kuṣāṇa coins of the Yaudheyas having legends in the characters of the third or fourth century A.D., are found in large hoards between the Sutlej and the Jumnā, the homeland of the Yaudheyas, in the districts of Sahāranpur, Dehrādūn, Delhi, Rohtak, Ludhiānā and Kāngra”. Yaudheya coins were also found at Abohar, Sirsā, Hānsī, Pānipat, Sonapat, etc., and Rodgers (MSS. notes in Deptt. of coins, as cited by Allan, *op. cit.*, p. cli) also obtained some 4th century A.C. coins (class 6) at Hānsī and Kharkhaudah near Sonapat. The evidence of the coin finds shows that the Yaudheyas occupied an area which may be roughly described as the Panjab and Haryana (Allan, p. cli). Very recently, a unique Yaudheya copper coin was picked up from the top of the mound at Baghaulā in the district Gurgaon. It is a cast coin belonging to the second class of the Yaudheya series of coins (*JNSI.*, XIII (i), pp. 101-2 as discussed by O. Pruffer).

It now appears that the foreigners were perhaps no longer ruling in Haryana towards the beginning of the third century A.C. (Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 21). It is also very likely that certain local ruler named Yajñajīta (whose coin has just been cited above), after the fall of the Kuṣāṇas, gained power and issued coins in his own name for a short while. Perhaps the growing power of the Yaudheya tribe proved fatal to his existence.

69. *A New History of the Indian People*, VI, 1946, Lahore, p. 29; Cf. *ibid.*, p. 21 for the independence of the Panjab and Haryana from the foreign yoke in the beginning of the 3rd century A.C.

R. B. Whitehead (*Numismatic Supplement*, 97, p. 1911) has described 21 coins found near Rūpar in the Ambālā district. "These coins are of mixed metal and weigh 190 grains. On the obverse there is a human figure copied from the Kuṣāṇa coins and the reverse bears a crude figure of an animal and some symbols. As these coins were accompanied by some copper coins of the White Huṇa Chiefs (Toramāṇa and Mihirakula), these are supposed to belong to about 5th century A.D." (C.R. Singhal, *Bibliography of Indian Coins*, 1, 1950, Bombay, p. 106).

Some earlier and later coins from the recent excavations at Rūpar have been illustrated in *Indian Archaeology*, 1953-4—*A Review*, New Delhi, 1954, plate V.c.

(n) *Important Yaudheya Coins*:—The Yaudheya coin hoards from the following places of this region are to be noted with great interest:—

- (i) A large number of Yaudheya coins have been found at many places in district Rohtak and district Hissār (exhibited at Gurukulā Museum Jhajjar). Sonapat⁷⁰ Hoard is also quite important.
- (ii) Karnāl⁷¹ Hoard of 232 copper coins included the large variety of Yaudheya coins: showing a male deity holding a spear in the right hand and the left hand resting on the hip (Cf. V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum of Calcutta*, I, plate XXI). Some coins of Kuṣāṇa Vāsudeva too were recovered from this very hoard.

70. Allan, *op. cit.*, p. cli; Chakraborty, *op. cit.*, p. 220; Alexander Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, London, 1891, p. 76 and *Geography of Ancient India*, London, 1871, p. 245.

71. *ASR*, 1930-4, pp. 143 ff: These coins were recovered as a result of the excavations at the site called Theh-Polar.

Gupta Terracottas and Antiquities

The region of Haryana has also yielded some very interesting Gupta terracottas which need to be described in detail⁷² here :—

(a) Cunningham (*CASR.*, XIV, pp. 97 ff., plate XXVII, lower half) excavated the broken part of a terracotta-plaque at the Asthipura site of Thānesar. On this plaque have been depicted two persons fighting with each other; their pose being very natural and charming. The upper portion of their bodies is quite naked while a *dhoti*-like object appears to have covered the lower portion. The folds of the drapery are of course quite visible. Besides this, there can also be seen a knot tied up (just below the navel portion) while one end of it is hanging down between the thighs. The man, to the left hand side, has caught hold of the arm of the other person. The latter wears a necklace, a fact which is quite unusual for the wrestlers at work. Usually the wrestlers do not put on such necklace as has been depicted in this plaque. Equally amazing is to note the long hair of one wrestler (to the left) and the curly hair of the other. The expression of pain on the face of the curly-haired⁷³ person is very well executed. It was probably a masterpiece of the Gandhāra art.

✓ (b) Equally important is another terracotta plaque from Peheoā⁷⁴ (ancient Pṛthūdaka) which has been illustrated in *CASR* (XIV, plate XXVII, upper portion; *ibid.*, p. 101). It is in a fairly well preserved condition and depicts some royal person sitting in the *sukhāsana* pose with his right hand placed on the right thigh.

72. They had not been described in detail by Cunningham who simply made a passing reference to these important relics. Similarly A. Coomaraswamy assigned them to an early age i.e. the Gupta period (Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 87).

73. The Gupta terracottas and sculptures depict the frequent use of curly hair: cf. *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, Hindi, Banaras, *sahvat* 1997, pp. 215-16 and plates.

74. Spooner (*ASR.*, 1921-2, p. 47) simply states that Cunningham obtained some excellent terracotta-reliefs at Peheoā.

It appears that this person is sitting on some throne, the side portions and the back of which seem to have been shown a little here. He wears a full trousers (reaching up to the ankles). A full-sleeves shirt, in the upper portion of the body, covers the whole portion up to the beginning of the palms of the hand. Over this long coat appears a wrapper-like object which covers the upper portion of his arm and then hangs down below so as to cover the thigh portions too. The folds of the drapery here too suggest this plaque as having been executed under the influence of the Gandhāra art. Still more charming are the remaining details of the figure :—

- (i) A round *tilaka* mark on the forehead.
- (ii) A crown (studded with circular jewels) on the head appears like the headdress worn by the court-judges.
- (iii) A fine jewelled garland appearing, not round the neck, but on the shoulder. It hangs on the chest so as to cover the navel portion altogether.

The left hand of the figure is completely broken; the eyes are open and there appear moustaches on the face. It is very interesting to note that the collar of the full-sleeves coat (cited above) is round in shape.

(c) The mound known by the name of Rājā-Karaṇa-Kā-Kilā (at Thānesar) also yielded some terracotta figurines and a small mould (height 2 inches and width 2 inches) which was perhaps used for preparing metal images of goddess Śrī. It is regretted that the back half of this mould has not been discovered. The remaining portion of course depicts the goddess seated on a full blown lotus and holding a flower in her right hand. Besides this, a male figure (height 3½ inches; in a well preserved condition) has been depicted without clothing, "perhaps portrayed in the act of dancing" (Spooner, *ASR*, 1921-2, p. 48). Another terracotta relief (2¼ × 2½ inches) representing the lower half portion of a man and a woman (standing side by side) is also to be noted. The woman here is occupying the left portion as usual and both of

them wear long-clothes. It is not yet possible to determine the theme of this relief (Cf. *ASR.*, 1921-2, p. 48).

- (i) R.C. Majumdar⁷⁵ has put forth a view that the present day Haryana was perhaps included in the empire of Samudra Gupta. In his own words, "in the west it extended up to the Panjab, probably included its eastern districts between Lahore and Karnāl. From the last named (i.e. Karnāl) the boundary followed the Jumna river up to its junction with the Chambal .." M.S. Vatsa (*ASR.*, 1926-7, p. 233 plate XXIII f.) describes a rare gold coin of Samudra Gupta of the Battle Axe Type found along with 86 gold coins discovered at Mithathal in the Hissār district in 1915-16. Out of these⁷⁶ coins, 33 were of Samudra Gupta, while remaining were issued by the latter Kuṣāṇa rulers of this region (C.R. Singhal, *Bibliography of Indian Coins*, Bombay, I, p. 83). The discovery of this hoard (of gold coins) from Haryana is very important indeed. It is too early now to think that the armies of Samudra Gupta had penetrated as far as the Hissār district. The last king to be represented in this hoard is Samudra Gupta. The presence of only gold coins in the hoard suggests that the fellow who deposited the hoard was undoubtedly some wealthy person. He might have expired prematurely and so could get no time to take the coins out or to disclose the secret of their being hidden underneath the earth.
- (ii) It was during his explorations and archaeological tour in Haryana that Rodgers happened to acquire a gold coin of Samudra Gupta at Jagādharī (*Report*, p. 24)

75. *A New History of the Indian People*, VI, 1946, Lahore, p. 144 and *The Classical Age*, Bombay, 1954, p. 9.

76. Out of this lot, 26 pieces were melted and only 69 coins could be recovered and deposited in the Lahore Museum.

- (iii) It is equally interesting to note the famous Tushām⁷⁷ (Hissār) inscription carved in the huge rock in the characters of the Gupta period (*J. Fleet, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, pp. 269-70, plate XL facing p. 270). It throws a flood of light on the religious history of the place in the fourth century A.C. It contains a reference to the construction of a reservoir and a house for the use of god Viṣṇu by one *ācārya* Somatrāta, the great grandson of *Ārya Sātvata Yogācārya Yaśastrāta*. In the words of J.N. Banerjee (*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta, 1945, XIII, p. 56), "the wheel engraved about a foot below the last line of the inscription is evidently connected with it and is the wheel of Viṣṇu and not a Buddhist *dharmackara* or a mere sun symbol as Fleet has suggested".
- (iv) During his explorations in Haryana, Cunningham was able to notice a stone inscription (on the walls of a Sikh Temple) at Kapālamocana in the Ambala district (*CASR.*, XIV, p. 77, plate XXV). This epigraph of two lines has been attributed to the Gupta period and furnishes the date as "when 165 years had elapsed in the month of Māgha". In case we take it to be dated in the Gupta Era, the date of the epigraph will come to 484 A.C. (i.e. 165+319). Some ornamental stones were also found by Cunningham here and they too have been assigned, by him to the same period.
- (v) A brass mask⁷⁸, inscribed in the characters of the 5th century A.C., is said to have been discovered in the

77. It was discovered by A. Cunningham and has been referred to in *CASR.*, XXIII, 1887, Calcutta, pp. 22 ff, plate XXVIII. Tushām is about 16 miles to the south of Hissār (*CASR.* V, pp. 137-40. Fleet *CII*, III, pp. 269-70).

78. *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments of N. Circle, for year ending 1911*, pp. 18-19, Appendix D.

temple of Laṭuśriya-Mahādeva at Rūpar (distt. Ambala). The small inscription of two lines has been read as :—

Śrī kuvilasya mitrā vasuputrasya devadharmā.

Some interesting Seals

The ancient site of Theh Polar (Karnāl) yielded some terracotta and copper seals and sealing too⁷⁹. They resemble in technique, style, emblems and language with the coin-moulds found at Sunet⁸⁰ near Ludhiānā and described by Hoernle in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1884, LIII, pp. 138-9.

(a) Some of the emblems on the Theh Polar seals are the human⁸¹ feet, *trīśūla*, *cakra*, *padma*, bull, fire, altar, etc., and they are undoubtedly Brahmanical in nature. The bull, facing left, on one seal (*ASR.*, 1930-4, plate LXXXII, h) resembles that on the Yaudheya coins and coin-moulds from Rohtak. The name on the other seal, bearing an inscription "..... *bhadra*....." (*ibid.*, plate LXXXII, k) needs to be compared with that of Bhadrāmītra from Rohtak and published by B. Sahnī in *Current Science*, 1936, V, pp. 81 ff. The third seal depicts the fire altar and an inscription *śrī raja ma (ha) ta*.

(b) Of the copper seals found at Theh Polar, one bears a trident above the inscription⁸² reversed and counterstruck. The latter is to be read (from right to left) as:—*Sammukhe kāśīśvarasya*⁸³ (*ibid.*, plate LXXXII, l) in the characters of the later Gupta period.

79. *ASR.*, 1930-34, pt. I, pp. 143 ff. plate LXXXII.

80. *India*, p. 72; *CASR.*, XIV, p. 65; *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, IV, pp. 47-8. The ancient name of the place was Sunetra (*Pāṇini*, *Śaṅkalādi gāṇa*). For coin-moulds from Sunet, consult Birbal Sahnī, *Technique of Casting Coins*, op., cit., pp. 32-7.

81. Representing the feet of Lord Buddha or Mahāvīra or Viṣṇu.

82. *i.e.* The trident is carved in the upper portion of the circular seal while the letters are in the lower portion.

83. The discovery of such seals here is very interesting in fact. H. L. Srivastava (*ASR.*, 1930-4, pt. I, pp. 143 ff) dates one of these copper seals towards the 5th or 6th century A.C., *IHQ*, December, 1955.

The other copper seal furnishes only *kāśīśvara* as the legend on it (*ibid.*, plate LXXXII, g). The existence of the trident of course refers to its being purely Śaivite in nature.

Later Gupta period

D. B. Spooner (*ASR.*, 1922-3, p. 90) describes a stone slab (from Amīn) bearing a four armed seated figure of Gaṇapati with Śiva and his consort Pārvatī seated to his proper left. In Spooner's opinion, this sculpture was probably carved in the later—Gupta period.

Besides this, there is not much of interesting material pertaining to the age preceding the accession of Harṣavardhana (seventh century A.D.). It was from Sirsā (Hissār) that certain early mediaeval inscriptions were recovered long ago (*Et.*, XXI, pp. 293ff.) and one epigraph of about the 5th or 6th century A.C. was also brought to light. The latter inscription refers to the valour of a certain ruler whose name and identity cannot be made out from the inscription.

Puṣpabhūti of Thānesar

The *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa and the Sonapat Copper-Seal of Harṣavardhana (*CII.*, III, pp.231-2) have also furnished the genealogy of the House of the Puṣpabhūti of Thānesar. The first three rulers of this house (i.e., Naravarman, Rājyavardhan I and Ādityavardhan) are simply *Mahārājas*. It was Prabhākarvardhan (father of Harṣavardhan) who has been styled as *Mahārājādhirāja* for the first time. As he died shortly before Harṣa's accession to the imperial throne of Thānesar in 606 A.C., R. C. Majumdar (*The Classical Age*, 1954, Bombay, p. 97) is justified to place the commencement of Prabhākara's rule somewhere about 580 A.C.

It would appear from all the contemporary sources, literary as well as archaeological, that the kingdom of Thānesar did not reach the pinnacle of glory till the last quarter of the 6th century A.C. The earlier history of the region of course remains shrouded in mystery.

According to R. C. Majumdar (*op. cit.*, p. 97), "the first three kings, who flourished probably between 500-580 A.D., might have been feudatory chiefs, acknowledging the supremacy either of the Hūṇas, or of the Guptas, or both, at different times. It is also very likely that the Mukharis exercised supremacy over them for they did not claim the rank of the *Mahārājadhīrāja* immediately after the fall of the Guptas and the Hūṇas. It may be surmised that the dynasty really came into prominence after the death of Išānavarman, and Ādityavardhan's marriage with a princess of the latter-Gupta family probably marks a definite step in their rise to power and prominence. However all this is a mere speculation and no definite opinion is possible till more positive evidence is available".

The *Harṣacarita* refers to some poetical epithets⁸⁴ of Prabhākara-
vardhan of Thānesar, who was "a lion to the Hūṇa deer, a burning fever to the king of Sindhu, a troubler of the sleep of the Gurjara king, a fever to that scent elephant—the lord of Gandhāra, destroyer of the skill of the Lāṭas, an axe to the creeper which is the goddess of fortune (or sovereignty) of the Mālva". This much we know, about the Hūṇas, that just before his death, Prabhākara-
vardhan had despatched a military expedition to check the Hūṇa menace somewhere in the Uttarāpatha. His eldest son, Rājya-
vardhan was the leader of the expedition. Majumdar (*op. cit.*, p. 98) tries to locate the Hūṇa kingdom in the Northern Pañjāb. No sooner did Rājyavardhan proceed with his military operations, than the news of his father's illness reached him and he had to return to Thānesar immediately. In the meantime his father expired and his mother (Yaśomatī) burnt herself to death on the bank of the sacred river Sarasvatī which flowed near Thānesar. In fact the credit of the expansion of the Thānesar kingdom in the Northern India goes to Harṣavardhan. It is regretted that Yuan Chwang,

84. *The Classical Age*, *op. cit.*, p. 97; cf. *Harṣacarita Eka Sānskrītika Adhyāyana* (Hindi), Patna, 1953, p. 63. For the coins of the Mukharis and the rulers of the Thānesar line, consult R. Burn, *JRAS*, London, 1906, pp. 453 ff.

who visited Thānesar in the 7th century A.C. and narrated a good deal about the social, religious and economic conditions of Thānesar,⁸⁵ failed to refer to the house of Puṣpabhūti of the place.⁸⁶ Bānabhaṭṭa⁸⁷ has presented a very graphic view of the *Stāṇḍīśvara Janapada* which formed a part of the Śrīkaṇṭha Country. We also learn from a later work, the *Ārya Mañjuśrī-mūlakapala*, that Stāṇḍīśvara formed a part of Śrīkaṇṭha and that the rulers of the place were Vaiśya by caste.

Post-Harṣa Period

- (i) The glory of this region perhaps faded with the transfer of the capital seat from Thanesar to Kanauj in the very life time of Harṣavardhan. The Khalimpur copper plate informs us that the Pāla ruler Dharamapāla (770-810 A.C.) had installed the king of Kanauj in the presence of the various rulers of the Panjab including the petty chief of the Kuru country. These rulers have been described (in verse 12 here) as having bowed down before him respectfully with their diadems trembling. It will not be too much to deduce that the sway of Dharamapāla had perhaps

85. i.e. *Sa t'a ni shi fa lo* of Yuan Chwang. Consult S. Beal, *Record of the Buddhist World*, I, pp. 183-6 for a detailed account of the place as presented by this Chinese traveller.

86. From Thānesar Y. Chwang went to *Kiu-hoen-cha* after traversing a distance of about 100 li or 16½ miles. The latter has been identified with modern Gunāna between Vyāsasthali and Nisaṅga, about 17 miles S.S.W. of Thānesar. It was from the Gokaṇṭha monastery at Gunān that the Chinese pilgrim started his further journey to *Sa-lu-kin*, i.e. modern Sughā as cited above (Cf. Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India*, 1924, p. 395).

87. *Harṣacarita* (text only) as edited by P.V. Kane, Bombay, 1918, pp. 43 ff. For translation consult the English edition of E.B. Cowell and F.W. Thomas, 1897, London, pp. 79 ff. Cf. also *Harṣacarita Eka Sānskrītika Adhyāyana*, op. cit., p. 56).

88. As edited by T. Gaṇapati Śāstri, 1925, Chapter III, p. 626.

penetrated as far as Haryana and Punjab⁸⁹ including the kingdom of Kira (modern Kangra).

(ii) The influence of the Pālas could not have lasted for a longer period for it was rather impossible for them to control the N.W. borders of the country. It appears that the region came under the Pratihāras (of Kanauj) who were considerably powerful, just on the border of Delhi and Haryana. The undated *prasasti*, recovered from Peheṇa⁹⁰ (ancient Prithūdaka, about 16 miles from Thānesar), throws considerable light on the history of the region in the times of the Pratihāra emperor named Mahendrapāla (893-90 A.C.).⁹¹ The verses (6-19) of this inscription are able to furnish the genealogy of the rulers (of a local Tomara family) "who were apparently the feudatories of officials of the Pratihāra emperors. This inscription seems to show that these Tomaras were settled in the Karnāl area and were in the employ of the Pratihāra emperor Mahendrapāla. We may perhaps be allowed to guess that the members of the Jāula's⁹⁰ family were resident of the Haryana region.⁹² H.C. Ray also states (*ibid.*, p. 1148) that "the Tomaras were settled in the district round Delhi from at least the 9th century A.D. During the

89. It is not possible to say whether Gandhāra (W. Panjab) had also accepted his suzerainty. R.C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, I, Dacca, 1943, p. 107.

90. Some pieces of Sculptures belonging to some Visṇu temple have come to light at this place. They throw ample light on the art and iconography of the Pratihāra period. For details see *Haryana Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 14-15. Plates (I-II) given here depict those sculptures.

91. *EI.*, I, p. 242 as edited by Bühler. Mahendrapāla here has been referred to as the paramount ruler.

92. H.C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, 1939, Calcutta, pp. 1147-48.

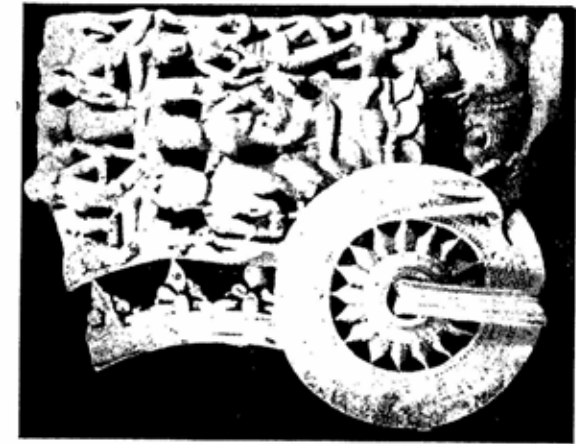


PLATE I. ŚIVA-PĀRVATĪ

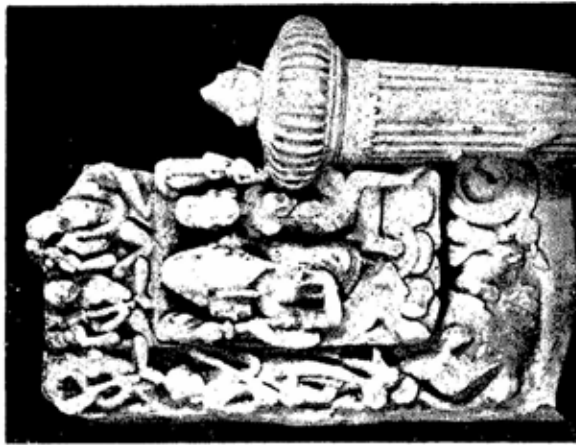


PLATE 2. BRAHMA-SARASVATĪ



reign of Bhoja⁹³ (836-82 A.D.) and Mahendrapāla (893-97 A.D.) they came into the orbit of the mighty Pratihāra empire. But soon after, about the beginning of the 10th century A.D., as the Pratihāra power began to decline, a section of the tribe probably founded an independent principality round Delhi".

This is in nutshell a brief account of the early history and culture of the Haryana region based on the contemporary records and archæological finds.

—R.C. Agrawala

Abbreviations Used

- CASR* =Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Report*, Calcutta.
Report =Rodgers, *Report of the Panjab Circle of Archaeological Survey*, Calcutta, 1891.
ASR =*Archaeological Survey of India* (Annual Report).
India =V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, 1953, Lucknow University.
JUPHS =*Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, Lucknow.
Dey =N.L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient & Medieval India*.
EI =*Epigraphia Indica*.
JBORS =*Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
JNSI =*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Bombay.
PHAI =H.C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*.

93. The discovery of the Delhi fragmentary inscription of Bhoja from the Pāṇḍava-kā-kilā, is also very interesting (Cf. *ibid.*, p. 1148, fn. 2). A 9th century stone inscription found at Sirsā (Hissār; *EI*, XXI, p. 295) supplies the name Śrī Bhoja Deva without any royal honorifics. It is of course not possible to identify him with Bhoja Pratihāra with definiteness.

1. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, pp. 93-95.

2. Ibid., Vol. V, Appendix, p. 34.

3. C.A. Vaidya, History of Medieval Hindu India, Vol. II, p. 39.

4. A.B.L. Awasthi, Studies in Skanda Purāṇa, part I, p. 36.

5. K.J. Virji, Ancient History of Saurashtra, p. 31.

6. E. Hultzsch, 'Ganesgad Plates of Dhruvasena I,' Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, p. 318, line 12.

The Earliest Reference to Haryana

As is well-known, the word *haryāna* occurs in the Delhi Museum Inscription of 1328 A.D.¹ and its variant *haryāṇaka* figures in the Palam Baoli Inscription². In the list of *pradeśas* in the *Kumārīkākhaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, which was composed in the ninth or tenth century A.D.,³ we come across the territorial designation *hariāla* or *haripāla* which manifestly stands for *Haryāna*⁴. It is said to be a populous region consisting of five lakhs of villages. Even an earlier reference, the earliest known so far, is found in the Ganesgad Plates of the Maitraka King Dhruvasena I (519-549 A.D.),⁵ issued from his capital Vajabhi, conferring on a Brāhmaṇa Dhammīla eight measures (*khaṇḍā*) of land and two cisterns in the village named *Hariyāṇaka*, in the *Akṣasarakaprāpa*, a sub-division of *Hastavapra āharaṇi*, modern Hāthab, six miles south of Gogha in the Bhāvanagara state.⁶ It is dated 207 valabhi era corresponding to 526-27 A.D. The occurrence of the place-name *Hariyāṇaka* in Saurāṣṭra appears to indicate that it was carried there by some people having an

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 93-95.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 34.

3. C.A. Vaidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. II, p. 39.

4. A.B.L. Awasthi, *Studies in Skanda Purāṇa*, part I, p. 36.

5. K.J. Virji, *Ancient History of Saurashtra*, p. 31.

6. E. Hultzsch, 'Ganesgad Plates of Dhruvasena I,' *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, p. 318, line 12.

वसतिदिशितं यथा इत्यत्र प्राहरयथा अक्षतरकप्रापीवहरिवानकप्रामे अपरोत्तरसीम्नि
 क्षेत्रस्यैवचतुष्टयं पूर्वोत्तरसीम्नि क्षेत्रस्यैवचतुष्टयं एवं क्षेत्रस्यैवचतुष्टयं यत्र पादावर्तस्यैव
 भस्मिन्नेवप्रामे अपरोत्तरसीम्नि जमलवापि चत्वारिंशद् पादावर्तपरिसरा भवैववास्तव्य
 माह्वयधम्मिलाय दर्पसगोशाय.....ब्राह्मणदायोऽतिस्तुष्टिः ।

intimate connection with *Hariyānaka* or *Hariyāṇā* which included the Delhi region.⁷ It seems that some people of Haryana settled in Saurāṣṭra and named their new settlement after their parent country. Let us see who these people were.

It is patently known that the Ābhīras or Ahirs were a prominent constituent of the people of Hariyana. They have given their name to the region called Ahirwal which includes the northern and western part of the Gurgaon district, the whole of Mahendragarh district, the Jhajar tehsil of Rohtak district and some parts of the Bhiwani tehsil of the Hisar district and extends upto the Bahrur, Mundawar and Bansur tehsils and the pargana of Kotkasim in Rajasthan.⁸ Once upon a time they were spread over the whole of the Panjab upto the bank of the Indus.⁹ Their dash on the Sarasvatī is implied in the tradition of its disappearance in the sand to avoid their foul contact.¹⁰ Their predatory and uncouth nature is manifest from their having robbed and kidnapped the Yādava women whom Arjuna was escorting to Hastināpura after the internecine conflict among the Yādava tribes of Saurāṣṭra.¹¹ In the post-Mahābhārata period their hold over Hariyana remained firm.

In the beginning of the Christian era the Pānjab and Hariyana were overrun by many exotic peoples like the Scythians and Kuṣāṇas and many of their inhabitants were forced to migrate southwards into the retreats of Rajasthan. Among them the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Śibis, Śālvas, Bhadras, etc., are noteworthy.¹² Along with them the Ābhīras also moved and settled in some parts of Rajasthan. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* mentions their settlements in Arbuda (Arawali region) and Marubhūmi

7. Buddha Prakash, *Glimpses of Hariyana*, p. 19.

8. K.C. Yadava, *History of Ahirwal* (in Hindi), p. 3.

9. *Mahābhārata*, Mausalarparvan, VII, 45; *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, V, 30, 12.

10. *Mahābhārata*, Śalyaparvan 37, 1

11. *Mahābhārata*, XVI, 7, 45-49.

12. Buddha Prakash, *Glimpses of Ancient Panjab*, pp. 47-8.

(Marwar).¹³ In the ninth century we find them in the neighbourhood of Ghatiyala in the Jodhpur state.¹⁴ Dasharatha Sharma thinks that there might have been an Ābhīra state not very far from Gaṅgānagar area.¹⁵

The Ābhīras did not stop in Rajasthan; some of their clans moved south and west reaching Saurāṣṭra and Mahārāṣṭra and taking service under the Śātavāhanas and the Kṣatrapas. In the second half of the second century A.D. western India was in the grip of political instability. Following the death of Rudradāman's son Dāmaghasda, a war of succession flared up between his son Jivadāman and his granduncle Rudrasīmha which ended in favour of the latter.¹⁶ In this turmoil Rudrasīmha employed and patronised many local and newly arrived people. Among them were the Ābhīras who took the occasion by the forelock and took over as generals of the Great Kṣatrapas. The Gunda stone Inscription refers to the Ābhīra general Rudrabhūti who served under Rudrasīmha.¹⁷ Another dignitary Īṣvaradatta, probably an Ābhīra, seems to have ousted the western Kṣatrapas and set up his rule in Mālavā, Kathiawar and Gujarat for some time as the findspots of his coins indicate.¹⁸ But the decisive step was taken

13. *Viṣṭupurāṇa*, IV, 24, 68.

14. *Epigraphia Indica*, IX, pp. 279-281; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1895, pp. 513-21.

15. Dasharatha Sharma, *Rājasthān Through the Ages*, p. 54.

16. E. J. Rapson, "The Coinage of the Mahākṣatrapas and Kṣatrapas of Saurāṣṭra and Mālavā," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1899, pp. 357-407.

17. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, p. 157.

18. Bhagwanlal Indraji, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1890, p. 657 and D. R. Bhandarkar (*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1913-14, pp. 230-31) hold that Īṣvaradatta is identical with Īṣvarasena of the Nasik Inscription. But E. J. Rapson disagrees with them and places Īṣvaradatta between 236 A.D. and 239 A.D. just before Īṣvarasena. [*Catalogue of Indian Coins*, p. CXXXV-VI]. The latter view seems to be correct for the names of the two persons differ, are ending in *datta* and the other in *sena*. It is not unlikely that both of them were contemporaries, one working under the Śātavāhanas and the other aggrandizing himself at the expense of the Kṣatrapas. With the end of the last Śātavāhana king Pūjumāvi, Īṣvarasena occupied the throne and started independent rule and, in course of time, encompassed the territory over which Īṣvaradatta had become prominent.

by Īśvarasena, son of Śivadatta and Māḍharī, who took the title of *Rājan*, started an era and thus supplanted Śātavāhana rule in western Deccan and also eclipsed the authority of the Kṣatrapas to a great extent. Though a champion of Brahmanical culture, as his title Māḍharīputra and use of Sanskrit language indicate, he followed a policy of tolerance towards all creeds, particularly, Buddhism. In the ninth year of his reign *i.e.*, 258 A.D. a Śaka lady Viṣṇudattā, daughter of the Śaka Agnivarman, wife of the Gaṇapaka Rebhila and mother of Viśvavarman made a permanent endowment of about four thousand *kārṣāpaṇas*, invested with the guilds of potters, makers of hydraulic machines, oil-millers etc., with the object of providing medicines for the sick among the community of Buddhist monks dwelling in the monastery on the Triraśmi (Pāṇḍuleṇā) hill, and got it recorded in the inscription at Nasik.¹⁹

Īśvarasena initiated a line of kings the number of which was nine according to the Purāṇas. However, their total period of reign is stated to be only 67 years which, V.V. Mirashi thinks, is a mistake for 167, though nothing definite can be said on this point.²⁰ In any case, it is certain that the kingdom of the Ābhīras comprised parts of central India as well as Gujarat, Konkan and Mahārāṣṭra including the districts of Nasik and Khandesh²¹. Even the Sassanid rulers of Iran, the leading Asian power of those times, recognized the Ābhīra kingdom, as we learn from the Paikuli Inscription recording the visit of the Ābhīra mission to the court of Narse to felicitate him on his accession after his success in the civil war with Bahram II in 293

19. V.V. Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol IV, part I, p. 3

राजः माहरीपुत्रस्य शिवदत्ताभीरुपुत्रस्य आभीरस्येश्वरसेनस्य संवत्सरे नवमे.....
शकाग्निवर्मणः दुहित्रा गणपकस्य रेभिलस्य मायैवा गणपकस्य विश्ववर्मस्य मात्रा शकनिकया
उपासिकया विष्णुदत्तया सर्वसम्पदित्तुक्षार्थं त्रिरश्मिपर्वतविहारवास्तव्यस्य चातुर्दिशस्य
भिष्णुसंपस्य गिलाननेषमार्थमवयनीवी प्रयुक्ता..... ।

20. V.V. Mirashi, *Op. cit.*, p. XXIV

21. *Ibid.*, p. XXV

A.D.²² In this record the kings of the Ābhīras and Śakas as well as other monarchs, like the Caesar of Rome, the king of Khwarazm etc., are treated on a footing of equality. In this way, it is clear that Ābhīra rule in western India lasted upto the fourth century when the Abhīras acknowledged the overlordship of Samudragupta.

From the above discussion of Ābhīra history it is clear that in the second and third centuries the Ābhīras moved into Saurāṣṭra and Mahārāṣṭra and set up their settlements and principalities there. It is natural that some of these settlements were named after the parent region of these people and Hariyānaka in the Bhāvanagar state was one of them. Thus Hariyānaka in western India enshrines a reminiscence of the carrying of the name of Haryana to that region by a people migrating from there. That these people could be no other than the Ābhīras is manifest from the history outlined above.

Incidentally, the occurrence of the place-name Hariyānaka in Saurāṣṭra, as a consequence of the settlement of the Ābhīras in that region, suggests a close connection between it and these people lending colour to the inference that the names, Haryana and Ābhīra (Ahir), have a common derivation. This adds some strength to the proposition that the name Haryana is based on the name of the Ābhīras or Ahirs who were the dominant people of this region in ancient times. Both the state of Haryana and the locality called Hariyānaka in western India seem to owe their name to the Ābhīras or Ahirs.

—Buddha Prakash

22. E. Harfeld. *Palkuli*, Vol. I p. 119..... "at ābirān sāh a śūka śātrap gīnak-gīnak....." For detailed discussion see Buddha Prakash, *Shades in Indian History and civilization*, p. 381

Thākura Pherū—A Great Scholar of Medieval Haryana

In medieval India there were only a few men who could reasonably be held to have learnt all there was to learn, whether of the sciences or of literature, and one of such men was Thākura Pherū. He was born at Kanana, a small village five miles from Charkhi Dadri in district Mahendragarh²; and belonged to the Śrimāla stock and Dhāṇḍiya family (Dhandha Kula) of the Vaishya caste.³ Use of word *Parama Jaina* before his name by him in his writings shows that he was a staunch Jaina.⁴ His father's name was Thākura Chanda and grandfather was Seṭh Kalio.⁵

Thākura Pherū possessed a unique personality and creative mind. He was a versatile scholar with a deep knowledge of Indian literature and sciences. It would not be an exaggeration to say that he topped the list of the illustrious scholars of the whole India in the thirteenth century. His fame reached far and wide and he

1. In his famous book *Ratnaprikshā* (Jodhpur : 1961), Thākura Pherū gives his introduction as follows :—

सिरि चंभकुले आसी कन्नायपुरमि सिद्धि कालियधो ।
तस्सुव ठक्कुर चंदो केरू तस्सेव अंगरूहो ॥ १३१ ॥

See also his *Vāstusāra*, chapter 3, verse 59.

2. See Dashratha Sharma, *Early Chauhān Dynasties* (Delhi : 1959), p. 318.

3. See *Ratnaprikshā*, verse 131, quoted above and *Vāstusāra*, chapter 3, verse 59.

4. At the end of *Ratnaprikshā* we have ॥ इति परमजैन श्रीचंद्रामज ठक्कुर केरू विरचिता संक्षिप्तरत्नपरिचा समाप्ता (समाप्तः) ॥; and this practice is followed in every *grantha* composed by him.

5. See *Ratnaprikshā*, verse 131, quoted above and *Vāstusāra*, chapter 3, verse 59.

was honoured by all, from the humblest to the highest in the land. Emperor Ala-ud-din Khalji (1296-1316) was so much impressed by his unfathomable knowledge and unparralled intellect, that he bestowed upon him an honourable rank in his *darbār*. We are informed by Pherū himself that he was very intimately connected with the treasury and mint of the Khalji Emperor.⁶

Pherū's encyclopedic knowledge of literature and sciences prompted him to write treatises on different subjects; and happily they have all come down safely to the present day.⁷ A brief description of these scholarly works of Pherū is given below :

(i) *Yugapradhānachatushpadikā*

This small book comprising 28 *chaupāis* and one *chhappya* in Apabhraṃśa was written by Pherū in the year 1290 (V.S. 1347)⁸ under the guidance of his teacher, Vāchanachārya Rājaśekhara, at his village Kanana.⁹ Here the author has given a list of names of the Jainachāryas from Mahavīra to the Yugapradhānachāryas of the Khartargachha sect. There are also some references to the historical events connected with the names of these Āchāryas.

(ii) *Ratnaprikshā*

This book consisting of 132 *verses* in Prākṛit was written for his son Mahāpāla in 1315 A.D. (V.S. 1372) during his stay at the court of Ala-ud-din at Delhi.¹⁰ As the very name of the book shows, here author has dealt with the gems (*ratnas*), their types, places of availability, value, effects, qualities, defects, etc.

6. *Ratnaprikshā, verse 4.*

अल्लावदीयकलिकाल - चणकवाट्टिस कोसमवभत्थं ।
रयायावरू वव रवलुच्चयं च नियदिट्टिय दट्टुं ॥४॥

7. Recently the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur has published all the seven *granthas* of Thākura Pherū in a singal volume. It has been ably edited by Śrī Agar Chand and Bhanwarmal Nahta., pp. XXXV+108, Price Rs. 9.25.

8. *Yugapradhānachatushpadikā*, Last line ॥ सं २४०२ का० शु० ८ लि० ॥

9. *Ibid* नेरह सरदालर महमासि, रायसिहर, वाचारियं पासि ।

चंद तलुम्भदि इय चवपरिय, कन्नायार गुरुभणिदि कहिय ॥२७॥

According to Pherū there are sixteen types of *ratnas*. They are: Padmarāga, Mukṭā, Marakata, Pukharāja, Hira, Indranil, Gomēd, Vidruma, Vaidūrya, Halsañiya, Phalaha, Kraketaṇa, Bhīṣma, Lāla, Akīka and Phiroza.¹¹

In the days of Ala-ud-din the *Jauharīs* used the following weights for weighing *ratnas*¹² :—

3 raī	=1 sarason
6 s.	=1 tanadula
2 t.	=1 jau
16 tanadula or	} =1 māsa
6 gunjā (rattī)	
4 m.	=1 tānka

The *Ratnaprikshā* throws a flood of light on the trade of gems in the medieval times. Besides that, we get a lot of geographical information from this work. Indeed no medieval treatise on this subject, written in Persian, etc., furnishes such valuable information as *Ratnaprikshā* does.¹³

(iii) *Vāstusāra*

It is a very useful book on architecture. Its date of composition is 1315 A.D. (1372 V.S.) and contains three chapters on different aspects of architecture. Like *yugapradhānachatushpaddkā*, this book was also written at Kanana.¹⁴ Its language is Prākṛit.

10. *Ratnaprikshā*, verse 132.

तेयिह रव्यपरिवन्ना विहिदा नियतव्य हेमपालकर ।
कर^३ मुखि^७ गुण^३ ससि^१ बरिसि अल्लावदी विजवरजन्मि ॥ १३२ ॥

11. *Ibid.*, verses 14-15, 92-93, 95-96, 98, 99, 173.

12. Motichandra, *Ratnaprikshādi-Sapta-Grantha-Sangraha* of Pherū, Introduction, p. XVIII.

13. For details see *Ibid.*, IX—XXXV.

14. *Vāstusāra*, Chapter 3, verses 59-60.

सिदिपथकलस-कुलसंभवेय चंदासुपय केरेय ।
कम्नाथपुरठिपय व निरन्वितं पुवसस्वाहं ॥२६ ॥
सपरोबनारहेक नवय-मुखि-राम-चन्द (१३०२) बरिसम्मि ।
विजयदसमीह रथं गिहपठिमालवस्वार्थं ॥ ६० ॥

(iv) *Gaṇitasāra*

This book consists of 311 verses in Prākṛit. It has been written with a very competent knowledge of the subject and abounds in such valuable information as prices of different things, weights, measures, names of cloths, measurements of land, rates of taxes, etc., which were in prevalence at that time. In fact, it throws a flood of light on the economic condition of the period.

A table of weights and measures used at that time is given below¹⁵.

(i) 20 pratikākiṇṭh	= 1 kākiṇṭh
20 k.	= 1 prativimśārhśa
20 p.v.	= 1 Viṃśopaka
20 v.	= 1 drama
50 d.	= 1 taṅka
(ii) 24 āṅgulas	= 1 hasta
4 h.	= 1 daṇḍa
2,000 d.	= 1 krośa
4 k.	= 1 yojana
(iii) 4 karapuṭas (handfuls)	= 1 pāi
4 p.	= 1 māṅaka
4 m.	= 1 sei
16 s.	= 1 prastha
(iv) 6 guṅjās	= 1 māṅaka
4 m.	= 1 taṅka
10 t.	= 1 pala
6 p.	= 1 ser
40 s.	= 1 maṅga
(v) 16 yavas	= 1 māṅaka
4 m.	= 1 taṅka
3 t.	= 1 tolā

15. See Dashratha Sharma, p. 319.

In *Gaṇitasāra* Pherū has given a very useful account of the production per bigha of various commodities in the Haryana region.¹⁶

Kodrava	= 60	mds ¹⁷
Moṭh	= 24	"
Chaunlā beans	= 22	"
Black gram	= 18	"
Mūng	= 18	"
Rice (Kārī ?)	= 18½ or 15½	
Sesamum	= 16	"
Kāngarī (?)	= 20	"
Cotton	= 16	"
Jawār	= 40	"
Flax (?)	= 10	"
Sugarcane	= 10	"
Wheat	= 45	"
Peas	= 32	"
Masūra	= 32	"
Barley	= 56	"
Sarson	= 10	"
Alasī	= 10	"
Karaḍa	= 10	"
Baṭulā	= 14	"
Arhar	= 14	"
Kulathī	= 14	"
Cummin	= 10	"

(v) *Dhatūpatti*

This book comprising 57 verses in Prākṛit deals with metals like bronze, brass, lead, etc., and other substances like *Hingul*, *Sindūra*, *Kapūra*, *Chandana*, *Kastūri*, etc.

(vi) *Jyotiṣhasāra*

It is a great work on the *Joytiṣha*. In 474 *shlokas* (composed in Prākṛit in 1315 A.D.), the learned author deals with the

16. *Ibid*, p. 318.

17. 1 maund there was equal to 2,400 tolas. See *Ibid*.

movements of the stars and planets and their effects on human beings. It is truly a masterly exposition of *Jyotisha* as a science.

(vii) *Dravyaprikshā*

This important book has 149 verses and 29 tables where the information supplied by the verses is tabulated. The language of the work is Prākṛit influenced by Apabhraṁsha and the local dialects. It was composed in the year 1318 A.D. (1375 V.S.).¹⁸

At the very outset, after a salutation to the Mahālakshmi, the Ṭhakura has given methods of purifying gold, silver, copper, tin, lead and other metals. Then he describes how the purity of various metals can be ascertained. It is very interesting to know that Pherū could classify gold and silver into 192 grades according to their purity. After metals he describes at length coins of pure gold, pure silver, as well as of alloys made up of different metals. In his description of coins Pherū has given their weights, coin-value, and the ratio of the ingredients in the alloys.¹⁹

Needless to say, the writings of Ṭhakura Pherū, referred to above, are marked by patient industry, thorough research, profound scholarship and clear vision. They contain a teeming mass of interesting details pertaining to the subjects discussed in them. Besides, they throw a flood of light on the contemporary economic conditions. All in all, these works are the precious gems of the literary treasure of medieval India and their writer is truly the greatest litterateur of his time.

Kripal Chandra Yadav

18. *Dravyaprikshā*, 149.

एवं द्रव्यपरिचक्षं दितिमिरां चन्द्रतणयेकेरुष ।
अथि सुव-बंधवत्ये तेरुष पणहते वरिसे ॥ १४६ ॥

19. For details see G.H. Khare, 'Dravyapraikshā of Ṭhakkura Pherū—A Study', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XXVIII, part I, pp. 23-37.

Maharaja Hem Chandra : A Profile

Hem Chandra, known to history by his short name Hemu,¹ is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable figures in the history of medieval India. There are few stories in fact and fiction that can rival the breath-taking acts of heroism and gallantry and unparalleled feats of daring and adventure of Hemu. Besides that, he displayed remarkable genius for business management, politics and civil government and thus towered above all his contemporaries.

Hem Chandra was a native of Rewari,² a prominent town in Haryana, nearly 50 miles south-west of Delhi. His father's name was Puran Das and he was Dhusar by caste. Puran Das was essentially a religious man. The worldly life had no attraction for him.³

When Hemu was still in his teens, Puran left his home and went to Brindaban (Mathura). He became a disciple of Swami Hit Harivansha, the founder of the Radha Vallabha sect. We learn from a contemporary book *Rasik Ananya Mal* by Bhagwat Mudit (pp. 34-45) that Puran Das had secured for himself an enviable position among the disciples of Hit Harivansha by dint of his ability

1. He is known by various names, such as Hemu, Hemraj, Hem Chandra and Vasant Rai (*Dalpat Vilas*, p. 10).

2. Motilal Bhargava (*Hemu aur un ka Yuga*, p. 10) and Rahul Sankrattyayana (*Akbar*, pp. 4-5) have wrongly supposed that Hemu was not a native of Rewari. The former says that he lived at Deoti Macheri (Alwar) and the latter puts him at Sahasram in Bihar. For a detailed discussion and criticism of their views see my book, *Ahirwal ka Itihas*, p. 33.

3. *Ibid.*

and devotion. He toured from place to place preaching the teachings of the Vallabha sect.⁴

The absence of Puran Das from home had a very adverse effect on the life of his family. Thier financial position became very hopeless. Consequently Hemu left his studies and took to huckestry to support his family. He sold salt in the streets of Rewari.⁵ After some time his position improved and he left huckestry and became a weighman in the *mandi*.⁶

Almost all the contemporary and semi-contemporary authors believe that Hemu was a very intelligent man. Besides that, he was hard working and painstaking too.⁷ Gifted with these two traits, Hemu soon overcame his financial difficulties. When his position improved a little he left Rewari and went to Delhi, the imperial capital and became a weighman there. It was here that his knowledge of trade and commerce improved. He studied the complex business problems very seriously.

But the weighman's job could not hold ambitious Hemu for a long time. He soon changed it for a government job and became a hawker⁸. Diligent and intelligent, Hemu pleased his superiors with his fine performance. Consequently he was soon promoted to the rank of a government contractor.⁹

The new post, in fact, opened the gates of success for Hemu. As a royal contractor he began to come in contact with some of the highest officials of the state. These officials were impressed

4. He went as far as Thattah in Sind. Here he converted Parmanand, the Governor of this place, to the Radha Vallabh sect in 1592 vik. (= 1635 A.D.).

5. Abul Fazl, *Akbar Namah* (tr. by Beveridge) vol. I., p. 617.

6. Niamatullah, *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani wa Makhjan-i-Afghani*, ed. Imam-ul-din, vol. I, p. 391.

7. Even a hostile author Abul Fazl praises him for his intelligence and diligence. See *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 617.

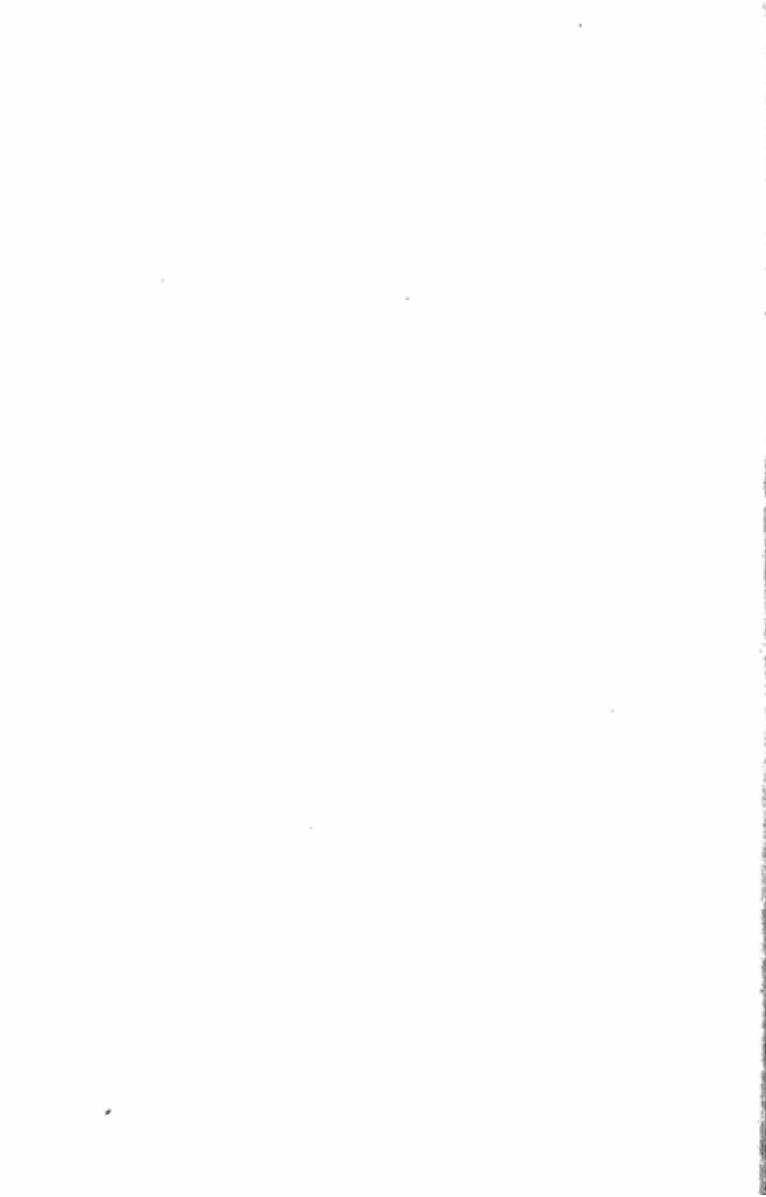
8. *Ibid.*

9. Ishwari Prasad, *Life and times of Humayun*, p. 19.



Courtesy : Rahul Sankrityayan

HEM CHANDRA (HEMU)



by the work of Hemu. So highly did they all speak of him that even the King Islam Shah Suri had to take note of him. In fact, his rise to prominence starts from this place.

Rise to Prominence

Islam Shah developed a special liking for intelligent and sincere Hemu. Besides being a royal contractor, he became the king's personal adviser also. The king sought his advice not only in matters relative to trade and commerce but also in those pertaining to diplomacy and statesmanship.¹⁰

It is a well-known fact that the financial condition of the Afghan empire deteriorated during Islam Shah's time. In order to check it he appointed Hemu to the post of *Shahana-i-Bazar*.¹¹ This was a very important post in the Afghan empire. It was he who managed the mercantile system of the State. He used to inspect and examine all the important commodities. He also prepared rate-lists and inspected weights, etc.¹²

This rank, no doubt, further elevated the position of Hemu and hundreds and thousands of the rich and influential traders bowed down before him. Besides that, he got an opportunity to pay frequent visits to the King (Islam Shah) in order to apprise him of the trade and commerce situation in the country.¹³

After a few years, Hemu was appointed to the post of the Chief of Intelligence and Daroga-i-Chauki¹⁴ (Superintendent of Post). The efficiency of espionage in Islam Shah's reign was due to Hemu's ceaseless efforts. He remained at this post till Islam Shah's death (Oct. 30, 1553).¹⁵

10. *Tabqat-i-Akbari* (Tr. De.), vol. II, p. 198.

11. Rahim, *History of the Afghans in India*, p. 49.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

14. Qanungo, p. 441.

15. See *Ahtrval ka Itihas*, pp. 34-35.

Adil Shah and Hemu

Adil Shah who became king after killing the infant son and successor of Islam Shah, on November 2, 1553, also held Hemu in great esteem. Indolent, pleasure-seeking, sensual king Adil made Hemu his Prime Minister and entrusted him with the administration of the kingdom.¹⁶

Since Adil Shah was a weak ruler, a host of Afghan chiefs revolted against him. In the words of Abul Fazl: "Ahmed Khan Sur...who had charge of the Punjab became a claimant for the sovereignty and styled himself Sikandar Khan. And Mohammad Khan...the Governor of Bengal aimed at general supremacy. Ibrahim Khan Sur...set about obtaining the rule of India, while Shujat Khan...raised his head high in Malwa. The vagabond Afghans gathered together and caused confusion."¹⁷

At this critical juncture Hemu came to defend the falling fortunes of the Afghan Empire. He fought as many as twenty-two battles with the rebel chiefs and defeated them.¹⁸

After some time Adil became insane. During his insanity Hemu used to rule like a king. But it did not go long and Adil recovered from this illness after a short while. After his recovery Adil tried to snatch back the supreme authority which had slipped into the hands of Hemu during his illness. This might have offended Hemu and he imprisoned Adil. A contemporary Rajasthani book *Dalpat Vilas*¹⁹ says that Adil remained practically a prisoner in the jail at Kalinjir for some time. Mushtaqi also testifies this fact: "Hemu became all powerful. He did not give any thing except food to Adil Shah. He seized treasures and elephants and the

16. Bayazid Biyat, p. 212; Delaet, p. 140; Abul Fazl, vol. 1, pp. 617-18; Shrivastava, *Akbar the Great*, vol. 1 p. 24; Rahul, p. 6; Tripathi, *Rise and fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 158; Smith, *Akbar, the Great Moghul*, p. 26.

17. Abul Fazl, vol. 1, pp. 618-19.

18. For details see my book, *Ahirwal ka Itihas*, pp. 35-36.

19. p. 6.

whole country came under his sway. He appointed his own men everywhere and the reins of Government slipped away from Adil Shah's hands."²⁰ A perusal of the contemporary accounts can help us to suppose that Adil might have promised not to interfere in Hemu's affairs for his release. This fact is confirmed by Abul Fazl (vol. I, pp. 617-18): "Nothing remained to Mubariz Khan (Adil Shah), who was commonly known as Adli (tyrant), except the name of the king; Hemu undertook all appointments and dismissals and the distribution of justice."

Humayun returns

Humayun occupied the Panjab and Haryana in July, 1555. But fate did not help him to rule this country for a long time and he died on January 26, 1556 of an accidental fall from his library. His son Akbar was away in Panjab then and he rushed up towards Delhi and Agra when this news reached him.²¹

Hemu and Akbar

Like Akbar Hemu also rushed up to occupy Agra, Delhi and the adjoining territory. At Agra Hemu was expected to meet tough opposition at the hands of Sikandar Khan Uzbek. But the latter was so much terrorized by the news of Hemu's attack on him that he fled way to Delhi and Hemu occupied Agra without any opposition.²²

Next Hemu attacked Delhi.²³ He had with him then 50,000 cavalry, 1,000 elephants, 51 big and 500 small guns, besides a large infantry.²⁴ When the Mughals heard of this attack they became utterly nervous, but some of their commanders inspired them to fight. Consequently on 7th October 1556 both the armies fought.

20. *Waqiat-i-Mustaql*. f. 74 I am grateful to Shri R.K. Bhardwaj for this information.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

22. Badaoni, vol. I, p. 433; Ahmed Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana*, pp. 348-50; Niamatullah (Darn's tr.), p. 154.

23. Badaoni, vol. I, p. 13; Nizam-ud-din, vol. II, p. 129.

24. Abul Fazl, vol. II, p. 47.

Afghan army was led by Hemu and his assistants were Shadi Khan of Sambhal, Hazikhan of Alwar and Rai Husain Jalwani. On the Mughals' side Tardibegh was the chief commander. His assistants were Afzal Khan, Ashraf Khan, Maulana Mir Mohammad Sherwani, Hyder Mohammad Khan, Iskandar Khan, Abdullah Uzbeg, etc.²⁵ Hemu's army fought ferociously and defeated the Mughals. Hemu captured 160 elephants 1,000 Arabian horses and a huge treasure.²⁶

Hemu assumes sovereign rank

Victorious Hemu entered into Delhi with great pomp and show. It was truly a great event and had great effect on Hemu. He thought, to quote the words of Smith, "his sovereign was a long way off, that he himself was in possession of the army and elephants, and that it might be better to gain a kingdom for his own benefit rather than for his absent employer."²⁷

In order to materialize his intention to assume the sovereign rank, Hemu distributed the spoils collected from Agra and Delhi among his Afghan soldiers and officers and won them over to his side. After that he raised an imperial canopy over his head and exercised "the most cherished privilege of sovereignty by striking coins in his own name." He assumed the title of Maharaja Vikramaditya (October 7, 1556).²⁸

Second battle of Panipat

In the first week of November, 1556 the armies of Hemu and Akbar met on the historic battlefield of Panipat. In the beginning

25. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

26. *Ibid.*

27. Smith, p. 27.

28. Abul Fazl, vol. I, p. 618; *Masir-i-Rahimi*, vol. I, p. 60; Nizam-ud-din, vol. II, p. 31; Badaoni, vol. II, p. 15; Niamtullah (Darn), p. 176; Ahmed Yadgar, pp. 352-53; Abdullah, *Torikh-i-Daudi* (E & D), vol. IV, p. 506.

We have recently come to know of about half a dozen semi-contemporary Rajasthani works which mention Hemu's name in the list of the sovereigns who ruled over Delhi. For details see P. Saran, *Descriptive catalogue of Non-Persian Sources of Medieval Indian History*, pp. 11-16, 19, 25, 37.

Hemu had some reverses. His artillery sent on in advance was captured by the vanguard of Akbar's army in a preliminary engagement. "But even after that loss, the Hindu general still possessed an immense superiority of strength. He relied especially on his 1500 war elephants."²⁹

On November 5, Hemu succeeded in throwing both the right and the left wings of the Mughals into disorder and sought to make his victory decisive by bringing all his elephants to attack on the Mughal centre commanded by Zamankhan.³⁰ What the action was really like can be seen in the following words of Abul Fazl : "Hemu...rode proudly on an elephant named *Hawai* (the rocket?), which was one of his best... . . . He beheld with apprehension the combats of the warriors of fortune's army (Akbar's), and gathering together a band of fierce elephants he showed every stratagem which his powerful capacity could conceive, and every daring deed which lurked in his seditious soul. He made powerful onsets and performed many valorous acts, and dislodged many strenuous soldiers of the sublime army."³¹

Hemu's men fought well. They were more than determined to defeat the enemy. But fate had something else for them in store. "Suddenly in the midst of the contest, an arrow reached Hemu's eye, and piercing the socket, came out at the back of his head....." When Hemu's army saw that arrow had hit Hemu, "the arm of their courage grew slack, and they lost heart. They became handless and footless, and no more girded up the loins of courage. His army was defeated and every man strewed the dust of defeat on his head, and scattered the glory of courage on the ground, and turned to flee. Just then, Shah Quli Khan and some brave men came up to the elephant on which Hemu was riding. He did not know that Hemu was on the elephant, and sought to kill the driver in order that he might make the elephant his spoil.

29. Smith, p. 29.

30. *Ibid.*

31. Abul Fazl, vol. II, p. 64.

The helpless driver, from fear of his life, pointed out to his master. When Shah Quli Khan heard of his great fortune, he blessed his stars and tossed the cap of joy to the skies. He gave quarter to the driver and made him hopeful of a royal reward. He then separated that from some other elephants and left the battlefield."³²

Hemu's Execution

The half-dead Hemu was brought before Akbar from the battle field and he was killed there. Who killed Hemu? It is a controversial matter. Some historians say that it was Akbar who killed him with his own sword at the instance of his protector, Bairam Khan in order to earn the title of *Ghazi* or slayer of the infidel. The chief exponent of this theory is Vincent Smith. To lend support to his statements, he quotes some seventeenth century writers like Ahmad Yadgar and Van don Broecke.³³ But his theory is in contrast with the accounts of the contemporary writers. Abul Fazl, Nizamuddin, Badauni and a Rajasthani book *Dalpat Vilas*'s writer emphatically say that Akbar refused to oblige his protector and then Bairam Khan and Gada-i-Sheikh, etc., killed Hemu with their hands. Thus we cannot attach importance to the statements of Smith and his seventeenth century supporters.³⁴

Hemu's head was sent to Kabul to be exposed, and his trunk was gibbeted at one of the gates of Delhi.³⁵ The eighty years old father of Hemu was put to death on his refusal to embrace Islam.³⁶ His wife fled away to the jungle of Bajwara and the Mughals failed to arrest her.³⁷

Hemu's place in History

The foregoing discussion shows that Hemu possessed all those qualities of head and heart which make a man great.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

33. See Smith, p. 29.

34. For a detailed discussion, see Dashratha Sharma's paper 'Who Killed Hemu?' *Indian History Congress Proceedings*, 19th Session, pp. 258-60.

35. Abul Fazl, vol. II, pp. 67, 85,

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

37. Badaoni, vol. II, p. 10.

Throughout his life, whenever courage, tact and flair for doing the right thing at the right time were required of him, he rose supremely to the occasion. His infinite capacity, matchless foresight, valorous courage, and indefatigable industry have been praised even by his hostile critics like Abul Fazl, etc.³⁸

There is no denying the fact that Hemu was one the greatest generals of his time. He is said to have fought as many as twenty-two battles before the second battle of Panipat and was never a loser. It is not only that he had the talent of getting the best out of his men, but his personal gallantry was also immense. Qanungo is right when he says about him : "No Hindu had ever been covered with so many glorious wounds on the field of battle except Maharana Sanga; no Rajput wielded the sword so bravely against foreign invaders as this humble Hindu of Rewari did on the field of Panipat."³⁹

Hemu was not only a great soldier or a general but he was also an administrator of superb calibre. As seen above, Adil Shah being a drunkard and debauch, had no interest in the affairs of his kingdom. It was Hemu who was the centre of the whole system and the pivot of the whole structure of the government. The direction of every affair lay entirely with him.

In the matter of religion, Hemu was very tolerant. He had firm belief in secularism. Not only that, he had great power to convince even the religious fanatics that secularism was truly a noble thing. How successful was he in this direction can be seen from the fact that even staunch Muslims accepted him as their leader in peace and war. Dr. Satish Chandra is perfectly right in his observation that "if Hemu had remained in power, the close association of Hindus and Muslims brought about by Akbar may

38. Abul Fazl, vol. I. p. 617; vol. II, p. 64. Badaoni Says about Hemu : "By his *valour and daring* he was victorious and performed great deeds. He became famous for courage and capability....." Quoted by Qanungo, p. 449.

39. Qanungo, p. 449.

have developed much earlier. The alliance of Hemu and Adali should thus be regarded as one of the portents of the future."⁴⁰

To conclude, Hemu was essentially a great man. He played a conspicuous role in the history of India for about three decades as a businessman, a vazir, a general, and above all as a sovereign ruler of Delhi. It is surprising that no biography worthy of this illustrious son of Haryana has been written so far.*

Kirpal Chandra Yadav

40. See his paper entitled 'Hemu—his ancestry and place in history', *Gaurava Garha*, Jaipur, December 1967, p. 8.

*I am thankful to my friend, Shri N.A. Phadke of Benaras for preparing the portrait of Hemu for me.

The Jat-Maratha Relations, 1740-1760

The Jats are in every respect a very important people of Northern India. In the west they are exclusively Muslims, in the Panjab, they are Sikhs and in the region south of the 'land of the Five Rivers' they are Hindus. The Hindu Jats, with whom we are dealing here, prevail in the Rohtak-Delhi-Bharatpur belt covering a large part of Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and some parts of Rajasthan.

"Tall, complexion fair, eyes dark, hair on face plentiful, head long, nose narrow and prominent but not very long", the Jats are indeed "a bold peasantry, their country's pride, accustomed to guide the ploughshare and wield the sword with equal readiness and success, second to no other race in industry and courage"¹.

Their rise to power

The Jats rose to power in the medieval times during the reign of Aurangzeb. They rose in revolt against him for administrative oppression and religious persecution of the Hindus and especially the Jats. Rajaram of Mathura district assumed their leadership. As many as 20,000 daring Jat youths joined him in course of time. Aurangzeb fought against Rajaram, and lost 4,000 Mughal soldiers in the battle; but he failed to subdue him. Raja Ram Singh of Amber (Jaipur) fought a series of actions against the Jat Leader, but he also could not crush him.

Churaman

On the death of Rajaram, the headship of the clan passed on to Churaman, who, being generous to his followers, added to his

1. K. R. Qanungo, *History of the Jats*, p. 20, quoted by K.C. Yadav, *Haryana Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 13-14.

numbers greatly. Bahadur Shah made peace with him and conferred upon him the rank of 1500 Zat and 500 Sowars, and appointed him the guard on the highroad between Delhi and Agra. Next Farrukh Siyar extended his charge of the highway from Delhi to river Chambal. Chauraman threw up a mud fort at village Thun where he established his headquarters.

The rapid rise of the Jat power aroused alarm and hatred of Sawai Jai Singh son of Ram Singh of Jaipur. With the ready approval of Muhammad Shah he led an expedition against Churaman in 1721 and inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. The Jat capital, Thun, was razed to the ground and was ploughed by asses. Churaman could not bear this insult and committed suicide. Churaman's followers dispersed to their homes. Thus the entire work of Rajaram and Churaman was completely undone.

Badan Singh

The fortunes of the family were built from fresh foundations by Churaman's nephew Badan Singh. Quite contrary to the Jat character he conducted himself in relation to Jai Singh both in private and public so humbly that he won his full confidence. Being very able and energetic he deeply impressed his master who now believed that in raising Badan Singh to power was his own glory. He granted Badan Singh "the tika, the nishan, the kettle-drum, the five-coloured flag, and the title of Braja-raja (or lord of the holy land of Mathura)."² Badan Singh never assumed the title of Raja, called himself a Thakur, and openly confessed himself a Zamindar of Jaipur State.

Badan Singh subdued all the Jat landlords, and recruited a large force of Jat infantry and cavalry. He built four forts at Bharatpur, Kumbher, Dig and Ver. They were strongly fortified, garrisoned and stored with munitions and provisions so that they became almost impregnable, and were never taken by Marathas in spite of their long siege or even by the Durrani. He heavily bribed

2. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, ii, 428.

the Delhi Wazir, Qamr-ud-din, thus getting his lawless activities unpunished. Badan Singh "roamed freely over the province, demolishing houses, gardens and mosques, disfiguring them for the sake of a knob of copper, a piece of marble or a bit of iron. Every gate, stone slab, and beam was carried off from these old edifices to the places which the Jats were then building. At the same time these tribesmen, in bands of two to three hundred each armed with sword and musket, carrying hatchets and torches in their hands and blowing their trumpets, broke into the houses of the rich, which they had previously divided among themselves and carefully noted where the owner was not in a position to offer resistance."³

Badan Singh had 150 wives, some married while others forcibly acquired, and had a numerous progeny of sons and daughters. While seeing their father, each announced his or her mother's name and his or her own name and number.⁴

Raja Surajmal

Badan Singh was succeeded by Surajmal. Surajmal was not the real son of Badan Singh. He was son of the sister of Badan Singh's wife. Being impressed by the intelligence and bravery of Surajmal Badan Singh adopted him "as his son and successor, with the full approval of the elders of the clan, setting aside the offspring of his body."⁵

Badan Singh's sagacity came out to be true, as Surajmal proved himself the ablest, wisest and shrewdest ruler and statesman not only of the Jats but in the whole of India in his age. A famous Muslim historian, a contemporary of Surajmal, calls him "the eye and the shining taper of the Jat tribe : a prince who rendered himself famous by his good manners and civil deportment as well as by his conquests, and his superior knowledge in

3. *Ibid.*, 430-1.

4. *Ibid.*, 432.

5. *Ibid.*, 433.

the arts of Government : qualifications in which he had not then, and never has had since, his equal amongst the Hindu Princes."⁶

The Jat territory was now surrounded on the north by the Mughals, to the west by Rajputs who dominated Alwar, Mewar and Narnaul, in the south by Marathas who were firmly established in Malwa, and on the east by the Ganga Doab, which belonged to the Mughals, but was claimed by Rohillas, Bangash Afghans, Nawab of Avadh and Mahathas. Thus hemmed in by difficult neighbours on all sides, it was a tough job to preserve Jat independence. But Surajmal was clever enough to steer clearly of all these tangles.

First contract with the Marathas, Aug. 1748

The first Maratha contact with the Jats was with Surajmal, and that also on the battle-field. The story is that a strong Maratha army under Malharrao Holkar invaded Jaipur in July 1748. Sawai Ishwari Singh called on his vassal Badan Singh to assist him. The Jat Chief immediately despatched Surajmal at the head of a force of 10,000 strong. A fierce battle was fought on 1 August, 1748 at Bagru, which continued for six days. Malhar's Diwan Gangadhar Tatyia captured Ishwari Singh's guns after a heavy assault. Surajmal at once attacked him, fought desperately, and pushed him back with great slaughter."⁷

Ballam Singh of Faridabad, 1750-53

Ballam was a staunch follower of Surajmal. He seized a large number of villages in the close proximity of the capital. Safdar Jang Wazir sent an expedition against him on 3rd June, 1750. He

6. Gokul Prasad Munshi, *Siyar-ul-mutakhirin*, quoted in *Najibuddinlah*, XLII.

7. Rajwade, *Marathanchya Itihasachin Sadhanen* (Ed), vi, pp. 281,648; Khare, *Purandare Daftar*, i, nos. 185, 196; Sarkar, i, 164.

8. *Delhi Chronicle*, dated June 3, 1750.

was captured at Shamspur near Delhi. He was brought with his wrists tied together to Khizarabad, 8 kilometres from Delhi where the Wazir along with the Maratha Vakil lay encamped. "Safdar Jang Wazir handed him over to the Vakil and himself returned to his haveli."⁹

Ballu's submission was only a temporary phase. He was over the Maratha Vakil and through him Safdar Jang as well. In the winter of 1750 he threw up a mud fort, 8 kilometres south of Faridabad, and called it after his own name Ballugarh, also known as Ballamgarh. He set himself up as a collector in this area, and was confirmed in this position by Safdar Jang. Slowly and gradually Ballu extended his depredations farther. In 1752 he ravaged Sikandarabad, 50 kilometres south of Delhi. He dug floors of houses, and fleeced the people of whatever they possessed. "Seizing the local tradesmen, he hung them up and flogged them to extort money."¹⁰

It was in November 1753, that the Delhi Government took notice of the lawless activities of Ballu. An expedition consisting of 500 Badakhshis under Aqibat Mahmud and 2000 Marathas under Gangadhar Tatyā reinforced by 7,000 soldiers and 30 light guns was despatched against him by Imad-ul-mulk, a rival and opponent of Safdar Jang. They besieged Ballabgarh. Ballu sued for peace. He waited upon Aqibat Mahmud, accompanied by his son, Diwan, nine military lieutenants and 250 troopers. The interview was held on 29th November, 1753. It was a stormy meeting and Ballu used hot words in the course of discussion. Ballu and his companions were instantly cut to pieces, while his soldiers fled away. Ballu's head was displayed on the road near Faridabad. The pearl ear-rings were removed from his ears, Ballabgarh was named Nizamgarh.¹¹

9. *Tarikh-e-Ahmad Shahi*, 22b-23a; Sarkar, i, 207-8.

10. *Tarikh-e-Ahmad Shahi*, 89a-82a, 96a, 97a, 106b; Sarkar, i, 286-7.

11. *Tarikh-e-Ahmad Shahi*, 82a-b; Sarkar, i, 290.

Khanderao's Operations Against the Jats and his Death

At this time a large Maratha force commanded by Khanderao, son of Malharrao Holkar, and husband of the famous Ahalyabai lay encamped near Delhi. The Emperor was keenly desirous of seeing Khanderao. He sent the Maratha chief 2,200 gold mohars and costly presents which Khanderao, declined to accept without the approval of his father who was then in Rajasthan. Khanderao was prevailed upon to see the Emperor with the utmost difficulty, on 1st December, 1753.¹²

Khanderao was then out against the Jats. He took up his position at Hodal, and from here as a base his troops ravaged the Jat villages within a radius of 25 kilometres. He drove away Surajmal's son, and established Maratha military posts. Khanderao stayed here for a month and a half. About the middle of 7th January, 1754, he joined his father, when the Marathas were planning to besiege Kumbher, a fortress of Surajmal.¹³

The main Maratha army under Raghunathrao numbering about 80,000 left Jaipur on 15 January 1754, and the next day they entered the territory of Raja Surajmal Jat. The Jat Army opposed their advance. A fierce pitched battle was fought near Dig in which both sides suffered heavily. Overcome by the sheer weight of numbers, the Jat Raja sought for peace. "Surajmal went to the farthest limit of conciliation in trying to avoid a war. For this purpose he sent his trusted Brahman Minister, Ruparam Kothari to purchase Maratha friendship offering to pay 40 lacs as the price of peace. Raghunathrao haughtily demanded one crore, upon which the Jat Raja returned a small packet of gunpowder and shots in answer.¹⁴

Surajmal took up a defensive position in the fort of Kumbher. It was immediately besieged. Raghunathrao lay encamped before

12. *Tatikh-e-Ahmad Shahi*, 93b, 94b; Sarkar, i, 288.

13. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, ii, 377.

14. *Tarikh-e-Ahmad Shahi*, 108b-119a, 115b, 117b, 121b, 125a, 127a, 128a; SPD, xxvii, 79, 94, 104; *Delhi Chronicle*, dated 19 March, 1754, Sarkar, i, 291-3.

it from 20 January to 22 May, 1754. At Malharrao's command Khanderao also came from Hodal and joined him in the siege. The Marathas could not make any impression on the garrison for want of heavy guns. Khanderao laid trenches under two covered alleys leading to the walls of the fort. On 15 March, 1754 he went out in a palanquin to inspect the trenches. He was sighted by the garrison and subjected to heavy fire, and was instantly killed.

Khanderao was the only son of Malharrao Holkar. His death at the young age of thirty cast a gloom over all the Marathas. His three wives and seven concubines committed sati. Only his fourth wife Ahalyabai survived him at Malhar's imploration. She later rose to the highest fame as an ideal widow and ruler. Malhar performed the obsequies at Mathura. Surajmal though besieged expressed his deep grief and sent mourning clothes to Malharrao and Khanderao's son Malrao. The Emperor sent robes of mourning to Malhar and ornaments to Khanderao's mother. Imad-ul-mulk came to Kumbher to condole.

Peace was made in May 1754. Surajmal agreed to pay thirty lakhs in three instalments. Raghunathrao left for Mathura on 22 May, 1754.¹⁵

Reapprochement between Surajmal and Raghunathrao

After the withdrawal of Maratha forces from Kumbher, an understanding was arrived at between Surajmal and Raghunathrao. Surajmal gave an undertaking neither to put any obstacle in the way of Maratha expansion in the Ganga Doab nor hinder the frequent movements of Maratha armies through his territory from south to north and vice versa. Raghunathrao permitted him to seize imperial territory in the provinces of Agra and Delhi.¹⁶

Surajmal took advantage of this reapprochement immediately. He seized Palwal, 58 kilometres south of Delhi, on 27 September

15. Father Wendel, quoted by Sarkar, ii, 438.

16. *Tarikh-e-Alamgir Sani*, 22a.

1754. The Jats killed Santokhrai, Qanungo of Palwal, who had incited the murder of Ballu Jat. The Qazi of the place was also captured. The Wazir, Imad-ul-mulk, approached Malharrao to assist him in driving away Surajmal. Malharrao took him to Raghunathrao on 29 September 1754. The Maratha general told him: "We have come to an understanding with Surajmal. We will not break our promise. You need not worry about it. I shall send a message to Surajmal not to encroach upon your Jagirs."¹⁷

The rapprochement continued up to August 1760. Surajmal made full use of this period. In November 1755 he regained Ballabgarh and Ghasira, and on 23 April 1756 took possession of the famous fort of Alwar. He also acquired land in the Ganga Doab, and secured Kol (modern Aligarh).¹⁸

When the huge Maratha army came to northern India in 1757, he met the Maratha general and supplied contingents of his troops to remain in attendance upon him. Thus he tried to maintain tolerably good relations with the Marathas as far as possible.

In 1760 when Sadashivarao Bhau, commander of the northern expeditions against Ahmed Shah Abdali, came to north, Raja Surajmal stood to help him. Shrewdest diplomat of the time, the Jat Raja did not approve of the Marathas engaging themselves in a pitched battle against the Durrani. He said that it was a dangerous experiment to adopt a new method of warfare in the north Indian setting. He strongly suggested the adoption of the old guerilla system of fighting. He proposed that all the heavy equipment, artillery, family, etc., should be left at Jhansi or Gwalior or in any of the Jat forts. The Maratha light cavalry should resort to constant foraging and skirmishing. They should also threaten the homelands of Afghans and Rohillas. This would compel them to desert Durrani who would leave for Afghanistan. Malharrao concurred with Surajmal. "But Sewdasheo Rao had an aversion to Holkar, the enemy of Ram Chander Shenwee, and

17. *Tarikh-e-Alamgir Sani*, 22.

18. *Ibid.*, 57-8.

from the connection between Holkar and the Jats he imbibed a prejudice against Sovraj Mal".¹⁹ The Bhau unceremoniously rejected the proposal as "the chatter of goatherds and zamindars" who were "ignorant of scientific war".²⁰

After this Surajmal was not happy with the Marathas, though he definitely preferred them to the Afghans and Rohillas. He accompanied Bhau to Delhi to obtain the control of the imperial capital with the help of Imad-ul-mulk. But this proposal was curtly turned down by the Bhau. On August 1, Imad and Surajmal went back to their camp at Tughlaqabad, and on 2 August retired to Bullabgharh without informing Bhau. On 3 August Bhau deputed his secretary Mahipatrao Chitnis, Sindhia's secretary Ramji Anant and Malhar's secretary Gangadhar Taty to persuade them to return, but in vain.²¹ Had Surajmal lived with Bhau and his advice had not been turned down by the Maratha Chief the history of this country would have been written in a different way.

This is, in short, a review of the Jat-Maratha relations from 1740 to 1760, which greatly affected the future course of the history of India.

H. R. Gupta.

19. Grant Duff, I, 607; Macdonald, 5; Keene, 38; Barr, 167-68.

20. *Imad-us-Saadat*, 180; *Tarikh-i-Bhau-o-Janko*, 82; *Zaka-ullah*, 305-6.

21. *SPD*, XXI, 190; XXVII, 258; Rajwade, I, 222; Siyar, III, 67; *Delhi Chronicle*, dated 1-8-1760.

The Establishment of British Rule in Haryana

The region of Haryana was acquired by the British East India Company on December 30, 1803¹ from the Maratha Chief Daulat Rao Sindhia. As the company was not in a mood to exercise direct control over the whole of this region then,² they simply took up the responsibility of directly administering only a narrow strip of land on the right bank of the Jamna, measuring about 40 miles north and south of Delhi.³ It was called 'assigned territory' and comprised the parganas of Panipat, Sonapat, Samalka, Ganaur, and Haveli Palam in the north, and the parganas of Nuh, Hatheen, Tizara, Bhora, Tapukara, Sohna, Rewari, Indri, Palwal, Nagina and Ferozepur Jhirka in the

1. *Vide* the Treaty of Sirji-Anjangaon, dated December 30, 1803, Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. IV, pp. 42-46.

2. A serious controversy arose among the British officials over this issue. Governor-General Wellesley, Gen. Lake and Malcolm wanted to bring the whole region under the direct control of the Company, keeping in view its political, strategical and financial importance. But the Home authorities did not like the Company's borders going beyond the Jamna. Hence they proposed this region's abandonment. To give effect to their wish they recalled Wellesley and sent Cornwallis in his place. The new Governor-General stood for the whole-sale reversal of the policy of his predecessor. But he was opposed tooth and nail by lake (c-in-c). Meanwhile Cornwallis died and his temporary successor, Barlow worked out a viamedia to accommodate Lake. Instead of complete abandonment of this region or its being given to the Sindhia, he divided it among a number of chiefs who had rendered military service to the British during the Anglo-Maratha war. Only a small strip of land called 'assigned territory' was kept under direct control.

3. *Foreign Secret Proceedings*, Nos. 17-20, Sept. 12, 1805 (National Archives of India, Delhi).

south⁴ the reasons for taking this territory under the direct control were three-fold. In the first place the occupation of this territory was very essential for an effective hold over the historic city of Delhi. In the second place, this territory would provide financial provision for the royal household.⁵ And in the third place, since its situation was of utmost strategic importance, it would provide military bases for security of the Company's possessions from the Sikhs and others in the north-west and the Rajputs, etc., from the side of Rajasthan.⁶

Actuated by these considerations the British authorities took prompt action and brought this territory under their control. At the very outset, they established a Residency at Delhi. The officer incharge of the Residency was called Resident who performed various duties of political, civil, judicial and military nature.⁷ In order to respect the Mughal Emperor's regal prejudices the Resident⁸ carried out all administrative work in the Emperor's name.

Barring the 'assigned territory' the whole of Haryana was divided among a few persons who had rendered meritorious services to the British against the Marathas. By this measure,

4. The Southern parganas were first given to the Raja of Bharatpur in October 1803. But they were taken back soon afterwards.

5. Since the expenses of the Royal House hold were to be met by the revenue collected from the assigned territory, the Mughal Empror was authorised to nominate his own man (*Dewan*) for the collection of revenue.

6. For this purpose a cantonment was established at Karnal. A battalion of soldiers was stationed there. Besides this, for the security and defence of the city of Delhi and the region adjacent to the Rajput states another cantonment was established at Bhadawas, a place 7 miles from Rewari. It was a very startigic place commanding all the roads and approaches from Rajasthan. Three battalions of infantry were stationed there.

7. The following persons held this post: Ochterlony (1803-6), Seton (1806-10), Metcalfe (1810-18), Ochterlony (1818-21), Fraser and Ross (1821-25). Afterwards Residents and Comissioners: Matcalfe (1825-27), Colebrook (1827-29), Fraser and Howkins (1829-30), Martin (1830-38). Afterwards Agents: Fraser (1832-35), Metcalfe (1835-53), Fraser (1853-57).

8. *Foreign Secret Proceedings*, No. 422, June 20, 1805.

besides rewarding the loyalists, the Company stood to gain militarily and politically too, because these states formed a series of buffer outposts between the British border and the Sikhs.⁹

Nawab Ise Khan of Farukhnagar and Raja Bahadur Singh of Ballabgarh were confirmed in their Jagirs.¹² Faiz Talab Khan received the pargana of Pataudi.¹³ Ahmed Bakhsh Khan was given the parganas of Loharu and Ferozepur-Jhirka.¹⁴ Rao Tej Singh was given an *istamarari Jagir* of 87 villages in the Rewari pargana.¹⁵ The parganas of Hodal and Palwal were given to Murtaza Khan and Muhammad Ali Khan Afrid.¹⁶ The parganas of Rohtak, Meham, Beri, Hissar, Hansi, Agroha, Tosham, Barwala and Jamalpur were given to Bambu Khan, brother of notorious Ghulam Qadir Rohilla and Ahmed Bakhsh, Vakil of Raja of Alwar one by one, but on account of the serious opposition of the people they "resigned their uncomfortable position." After that these parganas were given to Abdus Samad Khan, but he too could not control the "turbulent people," and soon exchanged this Jagir with the parganas of Nahar, Bahu and the villages of Dujana, etc.¹⁷ Nawab Muhammad Ali Khan of Muzaffarnagar (U.P.) was given some villages in the pargana of Karnal in exchange of his Jagir at Muzaffarnagar.¹⁸ Nawab Daler Khan of Kunjpura,¹⁹

9. *Settlement Report (S.R.) Rohtak*, 1873-79, p. 30.

10. *File B/163* (Punjab state Archives), pp. 5-9.

11. *Foreign Miscellaneous*, No. 282 (N. A. I.) The state consisted of the parganas of Ballabgarh and Pali Pakaul.

12. Since they did not render substantial service during the Anglo-Maratha war, their Jagirs were reduced.

13. Aitchison, Vol. VIII, pp. 120-21.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-22; Hamilton, *Geographical*, Vol. I, pp. 457-58.

15. For details see my books, *Rao Tula Ram-A Hero of 1857*, pp. 6-7, 72-74.

16. *Foreign Political Proceedings*, Nos. 17-20, Oct. 24, 1805.

17. Aitchison, Vol. VIII, pp. 123-31; S. R. Rohtak, pp. 31-32.

18. *Karnal D. G.*, 1883-84, pp. 143-44; Baden Powell, *Land system of the British India*, Vol. II, p. 685.

19. *Karnal District Gazetteer (D.G.)*, pp. 152-53.

Raja Bhag Singh of Thanesar,²⁰ Gurdit Singh of Ladwa²¹ and the Sardar of Shamgarh, were confirmed in their Jagir.²² Begum Samru of Sardhana was given a few villages in the Karnal and Gurgaon pargana.²³

The company's government had thought that by dividing the Haryana territory among a few loyal princes they would solve the problem of this region. But the coming events proved that they were utterly wrong in thinking on these lines. Possessed of unusual independence of character,²⁴ the brave and self-respecting people²⁵ of Haryana did not accept their new masters. The Meos, Ahirs and Gujars of Gurgaon, the Jats and Ranghars of Rohtak, the Bhattis, Ranghars, Pachhadas, Bishnois and Jats of Hissar, and the Rajputs and Sikhs of Karnal apoped the British and the local chiefs created by them.

How the authority of the British was defied by the people of Gurgaon and Rohtak in the proximity of Delhi, can be seen in the following words of Metcalfe. Those were the days, he says, "when the force at Delhi was not sufficient to keep in awe the neighbouring villages; when the Resident's authority was openly defied within a few miles of that city; when it was necessary to

20. He was an ally of the Marathas, but later on Submitted to the British in 1804.

21. He was also an ally of the Marathas, but submitted in 1804.

22. See *Karnal D. G.*, pp. 152-53; *S. R. Sirsa* (1879-83), p. 30. Owing to some exigencies on the part of the Government the Bhattis-Kamar-ud-din and Khan Bahadur Khan (of Fatehabad, Sirsa and Rania) were left to hold independent charge of their ilaqa.

23. *S. R. Karnal*, p. 29; *Gurgaon D. G.*, p. 55.

24. Metcalfe says, The inhabitants of Haryana were "a considerable class of people more accustomed to command than to obey." See Kaye, *selections from the papers of Lord Metcalfe*, p. 55.

25. George Campbell gives an interesting example of this type: "I remember one strong village in Kaithal, which for generations had made a point of honour never to admit a Government officer within their walls; they paid the revenue over the wall and that was enough." *Memories of my Indian career*, Vol. I, p. 52.

draw a force from another district, and employ a battalion of infantry with guns, and a squadron of cavalry, to establish the authority of the Government in the immediate vicinity; when the detachment was kept on the alert by bodies of armed villagers menacing the pickets, and when sepoy who strayed were cut to pieces; when it was necessary to disarm villages and when swords were literally turned into ploughshares; when every village was a den of thieves, and the city of Delhi was parcelled out into shares to the neighbouring villages, of which each co-partnership monopolised the plunder of its allotted portion; when a company of infantry was necessary to attend the officer making the revenue settlement and even that force was threatened with destruction, and taunted with the menace of having its muskets taken as playthings for the villagers' children; when to realise a single rupee of the settlement then purposely concluded on the lightest terms, it was necessary to employ a battalion of infantry with guns; when to subdue a single unfortified village a force of five battalions with cavalry and artillery was deemed necessary; and when the villagers instead of awaiting the assault, sallied forth against this force and for an instant staggered the advancing columns with the briskness of their attitude."²⁶ It was with great difficulty and suffering that the British subdued these people.²⁷

In the district of Hissar there was no Government at all from 1803 to 1810. The people were quite independent. As seen earlier, the local chiefs—Bambu Khan, Ahmed Bakhsh and Abdus Samad Khan, on account of the serious opposition of people, "resigned their uncomfortable position". So arduous task was

26. Kaye, p. 55.

27. How the people stood together to oppose their enemies is very well described by Seton: "Attacks (on them) were consistently rendered abortive by the local practice of assembling by the beat of the *tamak* or alarm-drum of all the armed inhabitants of the neighbouring districts. As every town and every village was provided with this aid to sedition, the magic effects of its sound in attracting the men of the province to the common rallying point can easily be conceived". *Foreign Political Consulation*, No. 34, July 22, 1809.

this that when the British Government approached Raja Bagh Singh of Jind and Bhai Lal Singh of Kaithal to hold this region since their possessions lay quite close to it, they both refused flatly.²⁸ When Nijabat Ali Khan, the Nawab of Jhajjar saw that nobody was coming forward to occupy this tract he offered himself for its management.²⁹ But to him the government would not give for the simple reason that a man in possession of such a big tract in the proximity of Delhi could prove dangerous to them at a time of need.³⁰

Now that the Sikh chiefs refused to accept this tract and to Nizabat Ali the British would not give it for political reasons, the only course open for the Government was to occupy it themselves. This was, in fact, a very wise decision on the part of the British Government. The tract was very productive (Rohtak, Meham, Beri, etc.). It was also very important for the promotion of trade between Persia, Qandhar, Kabul and Kashmir (India) because many important trade routes passed through this territory. These routes were important from military point of view also. They could be used with great profit for the passage of troops to meet any danger from the north-western side.³¹

Actuated by these considerations, the British authorities, decided to occupy the tract. But its reoccupation was not an easy job. "Its inhabitants openly defied any foreign control and showed fight". Lord Minto, the Governor General, took a very serious note of it and asked Seton, the Resident at Delhi, to act at the point of military strength. Consequently a big force was sent in March, 1809 under Col. Gardner. He was accompanied by Col. Skinner with a cavalry force.³²

28. *Foreign Political Proceedings*, No. 42, Dec. 14, 1807.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*, No. 104, Feb. 6, 1809.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*

Gardiner, first of all, went to reduce the Rohtak territory. He marched via Ballabgarh and reached Beri in the middle of March (1809). Here he met little opposition at the hands of the rebels. He called a meeting of the important persons of the town and impressed upon them as to how beneficial the British rule would be for them. Further he assured them good treatment provided they remained peaceful and came under the British protection.³³ Next the Zamindars of Dighal, Kahanaur and Nigana were brought under control.³⁴

After settling the Rohtak region, as seen above, Gardiner went to Hissar. While on the way about 2,000 Ranghars and others attacked the British force on May 14, 1809. A bloody battle was fought at Balliali, a small village near Hansi. Although the villagers fought gallantly, they were defeated owing to their small number and inferior type of arms and ammunition.³⁵

From Balliali Gardiner went to Bhiwani, "a strong-hold of the rebels". Seton attributes two reasons to the rebellious attitude of the people of Bhiwani. In the first the inmates of the town were very rich and they could easily afford to hire a big force to oppose any move on the part of a government to enforce their rule on them. In the second place, the geographical situation of the place was such that owing to the scarcity of water around, nobody could afford to stay there for a long time besieging the town.³⁶

In the people of Bhiwani, Gardiner found very tough opponents. So ferociously did they fight that a section of the British-

33. *Foreign Political Consultation*, No. 56, April 10, 1809.

34. How rebellious were these villages can be seen from the following couplet :—

देहली त' ३५ कोस कान्दोर निगाया ।
आपीं बोवें, आपीं खावें, किसे न दें ना दाया ॥

35. *Foreign Political Consultation*, No. 56, April 10, 1809.

36. *Ibid.*, No. I, November 28, 1809.

troops fled away from the field. Not only that, even they were going to lose the whole game, but reinforcement under Col. Ball came to their rescue. After some time the British carried the day.

After Bhiwani the British troops went to crush the Bhattis of Fatehabad, Sirsa and Rania. These people were well-known for their love for independence. They were the last people in Haryana to be the slaves of the British. A brief account of their resistance to the British rule may be given here. In 1803 Col. Browning came at the head of a big force to bring them under British control. But the brave Bhattis gave befitting reply to the Col. at Sirsa. The British lost a great number of their soldiers, and the colonel was among them. The British troops had to retreat leaving Bhattis as they were.³⁷ After this the Bhattis organized regular predatory incursions inside the British territory and despite their best efforts the British could not stop them till 1809.³⁸ In this year, as narrated above, the British troops launched an attack on the Bhattis after defeating the people of Bhiwani. The Bhattis were not a weak people. In the month of June-July (1810) they defeated the cavalry force of Col. Skinner. On December 3, 1810 they were again attacked by a considerably big force under an experienced commander, Col. Adams. The Bhattis fought well this time also but they lost the day because their leader Nawab Khan Bahadur Khan fled away.³⁹ Next Col. Adams attacked Sirsa and Rania on December 19 and 21 respectively. These towns were also easily occupied because again the chief of the Bhattis of this region, Nawab Zabta Khan, fled away.⁴⁰

The British treated the defeated Bhattis Chiefssy empathetically. Nawab Zabita Khan was given the jagir of Sirsa and Rania. Khan Bahadur Khan got a pension of Rs. 1,000 per mensem in the place

37. *Ibid.*, No. 70, Sept. 2, 1818.

38. *Ibid.*, No. 94, Dec. 28, 1810, No. 20, Jan. 7, 1811.

39. *Ibid.*, No. 57-60, July 19, 1811.

40. *Ibid.*

of his Jagir of Fatehabad.⁴¹ To preserve law and order in this territory a considerable military force was stationed at Hansi.⁴²

The above discussion shows that although the British became the legal masters of Haryana on Dec. 30, 1803 vide the Treaty of Sirji-Anjangaon, they had to wage a great struggle against the freedom-loving people of this region for many years (till 1810) to be the real occupants of this region. g h

Administration to 1857

After 1810 the British East India Company took keen interest in the administration of the Haryana region. As referred to above in the first section, the Resident was the head of the administration and in him combined the powers and functions of a magistrate, Judge, collector and a police officer. He was helped by a few assistants, whose number varied from two to four from time to time, in the discharge of these multifarious duties. The senior most assistant was called head assistant and he officiated as collector of revenue under the supervision of the Resident. The second assistant worked as a magistrate of the city of Delhi and its environs and the rest of them were assigned miscellaneous duties. A brief account as to how the administration was run from top to bottom is given below.

Revenue Administration

Agriculture was the chief means of economy of the people of Haryana and land revenue was the chief source of income of the Government. As such, the British authorities directed their attention towards the peasants and their agrarian conditions as soon as they assumed the Government. At the very outset, they declared that "from the earliest time to the present period, the public assessment upon land has never been fixed and,

41. *Ibid.*, No. 40, Jan. 26, 1811

42. Hansi remained a military station till 1818 when the troops of this place were sent to the Cantonment of Bhadawas near Rawari.

according to established usage and custom, the rulers have exercised a discretionary and despotic authority.....the tenants and cultivators of the soil have been exposed to rapacity and oppression. The Government had, therefore, decided in order to induce the cultivators to feel secure, and extend their efforts, to make a three years settlement with them to be followed by a second for the same period, and then by one of four years." Truly speaking, this was not transformed into a working reality by the authorities. In accordance with the Regulation IX of 1805, Metcalfe, riding on his elephant and surrounded by a band of troopers, toured the region in 1807 and made a settlement for one year and thereafter triennial settlements were made. As time elapsed and conditions became settled, longer settlements were made with the bigger villages. By 1820 there were settlements ranging from three to twenty years. The assessments were very heavy; less than 50 per cent of the gross produce remained with the peasant. The payment of the revenue in kind was replaced by prompt payment in cash.⁴³

Police Administration

For the enforcement of law and order a strong body of police was recruited and detachments were posted in different parts. The practice of the Regulation provinces, where the Police were supposed to inquire into crimes, whether they were reported or not, was not in vogue in Haryana. The police, with the active co-operation of the village people, stood a good stead in reducing the crimes and establishing law and order in the region.⁴⁴

Administration of justice

For the administration of justice the whole territory was divided into two parts : that of the city of Delhi and the countryside. In the city there were three courts for civil cases. The lowest court for petty suits of the value of Rs. 100 was conducted

43. For details see *Glimpses of Haryana*, p. 81,

44. *Ibid.*

by three Indian commissioners, a *qazi*, *mufti* and a *pandit*. The second court was for ordinary suits. Here the Assistants decided the cases. The third or the highest court was the Resident's own which chiefly heard appeals from the lower courts. The criminal adjudication was conducted by the Resident and his Assistants.

The Panchayats administered justice in the villages. "The Panchas were gods" and they held legal as well as social powers to decide the civil as well as criminal cases in their villages.⁴⁵

Besides these arrangements of direct administration of the assigned territory by the Resident, the rest of the region was administered by the local chiefs. In their internal administrative matters these chiefs enjoyed full autonomy, but they were essentially under the political superintendence of the Resident and enjoyed these powers and privileges on condition of fidelity and military service to the British Government.⁴⁶

Changes in 1819

After a decade of its introduction certain basic defects in the administrative system came to lime light. First of all the Civil and political authorities vested in the Resident were in contrast to the principles of effective administration and required separation. Secondly, the assigned territory from Delhi to Rewari and Hansi-Hissar was too unwieldy a tract to be administered as a single administrative unit and needed division into convenient sub-units.

In 1819 both these defects were removed. In the first place the Resident was left with political powers only and a Commissioner was appointed for the internal civil administration.⁴⁷ In the second place, the assigned territory was divided into three divisions ; (i) Central Division including the city of Delhi and its environs;

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

47. Foreign Political Proceedings No. 52, April 2, 1819.

(ii) Northern Division including Panipat, Sonapat, Rohtak, Hansi and Hissar and (iii) Southern Division, comprising Palwal, Hodal, Mewat, Rewari and Gurgaon.⁴⁸ The name of this tract was changed from assigned territory to Delhi territory.⁴⁹

As seen above, under the new system the Resident was in-charge of the political affairs and the Commissioner held the charge of the civil administration. The Commissioner's duties were practically the same as those of the Board of Revenue with regard to revenue and customs, those of superintendent with regard to Police affairs and those of a court of appeal in the case of civil judicature.⁵⁰ The Commissioner was helped by three assistants, one for each division, in the performance of his duties.⁵¹

The system of plural executive worked till 1825. But as it failed to bring the desired efficiency in the administration and created disharmony at the top, it was given up in 1825. The Resident again got all the powers of political and Civil nature.⁵² But after four years Lord Bentick again bifurcated the office of Resident and gave the work of internal administration to a Civil Commissioner.⁵³

Charter Act of 1833

By the charter Act of 1833, the North-Western Provinces was formed with its headquarters at Agra. Under the new arrangement the Haryana region was made one of the six divisions of the province, under the name of Delhi Division. Its headquarters were placed at Delhi. It comprised the districts of Panipat, Hissar, Delhi, Rohtak and Gurgaon. Each district was placed under a magistrate-collector. The districts were further divided into

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*

50. Extracts from the Governor General's proceedings, Territorial Revenue Dept., Nos. 52-54, April 2, 1819.

51. *Ibid.*

52. Political Despatch to the Court of Directors, Oct. 1, 1824, paras 85-86.

tehsils which were placed under the charge of the junior officials called *tehsildars*. Each *tehsil* was further divided into several *zails* comprising a few villages. Each *zail* was put under the charge of a headman known as *zaildar*. He was usually a prominent person and served as a link between the villages and the Government officials.⁵³

In the villages the administration was entrusted to the care of the headmen called *lambardars* or *muqaddams*. Their main duty was that they, along with the *patwaris*, should help in the collection of land revenue. The village *chowkidar* worked as a peon and guard.⁵⁴ This set up remained intact till 1857, when the great Revolt brought about a complete change in the existing set up.

Kripal Chandra Yadav

53. For details see *Glimpses of Haryana*, p. 78.

54. *Ibid.*

Haryana and the first war of Independence*, 1857

I

The British rule in Haryana from 1803 to 1857 proved beyond doubt that the blessings and benefits received from foreign rule can seldom outweigh the sufferings and injuries resulting from its self-centred policies. Their rule produced all round discontentment and disaffection. The grievances were social, economic, religious and political.

Social Grievances

Haryana lived in villages. The most remarkable institution in every village was its 'village community'. By their wonderful proceedings these village communities had been preserving their old culture from time immemorial. How they worked is graphically described by Metcalfe in these words: "The village communities are like *little Republics*, having nearly everything they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds revolution; Hindu, Pathan, Mughal, Maratha, Sikh, English are masters in turn; but the village communities remain the same. In times of trouble they arm and fortify themselves; a hostile army passes through the

*There is a great divergence of opinion on the nature of the Uprising of 1857. I call it the first war of Independence. The reasons are two-fold. In the first place, since Indians had never before made an attempt on such a large scale as in 1857 to oust the British, it can rightly be called the *first* war. In the second place, I feel that any attempt on the part of a subject people to throw off an alien rule automatically becomes a struggle or war for independence. Thus it can justifiably be called the First War of Independence.

country; the village community collect their cattle within their walls and let the army pass unprovoked; if plunder and devastation be directed against themselves and the force employed be irresistible, they flee to friendly villages at a distance, but when the storm has passed over, they return and resume their occupation. If a country remains for a series of years the scene of continual pillage and massacre, so that the villages can not be inhabited, the villagers nevertheless return whenever the power of peaceable possession revives. A generation may pass away but the succeeding generation will return. The sons will take the place of their fathers, the same site for the village, the same position for the houses, the same lands will be occupied by the descendants of those who were driven out when the village was depopulated; and it is not the trifling matter that will drive them out, for they will often maintain their post through times of disturbance and oppression and acquire strength sufficient to resist pillage and oppression with success."¹

The village communities entrusted the administration of the villages to a few elderly persons chosen from among them for their impartiality, just views, intelligence and position. These persons formed the village Panchayat. "The panchas were gods" and no injustice could be expected from them. The panchayats worked dispassionately. In the words of a contemporary British official : "Injustice or impartiality is not charged to these tribunals."²

Under the strict control of the panchayats, the villagers behaved decently with each other. In the words of T. Fortescue, Civil Commissioner of Delhi : "No instances occur of a proprietor being driven from the village by oppression or violence of one or any number of other sharers, on the contrary, it is observable that they tender each other the most friendly and essential aids when in distress. They will supply cattle, till the lands themselves, contribute money when a sharer has been really unfortunate and they will assist him in disposal of his produce in providing seeds,

1. C.T. Metcalfe's Minute of the Board of Revenue, November 17, 1830.

2. *Punjab Government Records (P.G.R.)*, vol. 1, 1807-57, p. 122.

bullocks and implements, should they be satisfied with him. This feeling.....is extended to the widow and necessitous family of a deceased sharer and its effects scarcely surpassed."³

In the early days of the British rule the Residents like Metcalfe had great liking for the village panchayats and the village communities and wanted to preserve them. But owing to the individualistic approach of the British revenue system, the development of the courts, the setting up of the new administrative machinery at the district and tehsil levels, these institutions lost their importance and ultimately died down.⁴

The village communities and the village panchayats were built up according to the requirements of the people and under them "they felt securer and happier."⁵ Their destruction brought social instability and the people felt insecure and unhappy.⁶

Economic Exploitation

Agriculture was the chief means of economy of the people of Haryana and land revenue was the chief source of income of the Government. As such, the British authorities directed their attention towards the peasants and their agrarian conditions as soon as they assumed the Government. At the very outset, they declared that "from the earliest time to the present period, the public assessment upon land has never been fixed and, according to established usage and custom, the rulers have exercised a discretionary and despotic authority.....the tenants and cultivators of the soil have been exposed to rapacity and oppression. The Government had therefore decided, in order to induce the cultivators to feel secure and extend their efforts, to make a three years settlement with them, to be followed by a second for the same

3. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

4. The panchayats lost their importance partly in 1820 when the region was divided into districts with collectors as an agency of giving justice above the panchayats, and completely in 1833 when the territory was transferred from the Bengal Presidency to the newly formed North-West Provinces.

5. R.C. Dutt, *Economic History of India*, vol. II, p. 89.

6. *Ibid.*

period, and then by one of four years."⁷ Truly speaking, this was not transformed into a working reality by the authorities.⁸ In accordance with the Regulation IX of 1805, Metcalfe, riding on his elephant and surrounded by a band of troopers, toured the region in 1807 and made a settlement for one year and after wards triennial settlements were made. As time elapsed and conditions became settled, longer settlements were made with the bigger villages. By 1820 there were settlements ranging from three to twenty years. These assessments were very heavy—less than 50 per cent of the gross produce remained with the peasant. The payment of the revenue-in kind was replaced by prompt payment in cash.⁹

The British settlements literally ruined the peasantry in Haryana. They were not enforced with the consent of the people. On the other hand, "when the settlement was made the headmen were imprisoned till they agreed to the terms offered and, having accepted them, till they furnished security for payment."¹⁰ The poor farmers, when they could not afford to pay the revenue which the village headmen had agreed to pay under compulsion, had to visit jail 4 to 5 times "in a matter of a few years."¹¹

The mode of collection of land revenue was as extortionate as the assessment was oppressive. "The collections were made in February and September, long before the harvest". To cite an example of oppression, in a small tract in Karnal "136 horsemen were retained for the collection of the revenue, while 22 sufficed for the police duties of the same tract."¹²

In the pargana of Karnal, to escape ruination, "the inhabitants of some villages, nearly in mass, had abandoned their lands and homes and migrated to distant parts."¹³ A painful picture of

7. *Settlement Report (S.R.) Rohtak*, pp. 101-3.

8. *Imperial Gazetteer of India (I.G.I.)*, Panjab, vol. II, p. 257.

9. *S. R. Rohtak*, pp. 101-3; *P.G.R.*, vol. I, p. 19; Spear, p. 86.

10. *S.R. Karnal*, p. 46.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

12. *Ibid.*, *I.G.I.*, Panjab, vol. II, p. 310.

13. *Ibid.*

the condition of the people of the Sonapat pargana is drawn in *The Settlement Report of the Delhi District*. The nine villages of Pabasara, Chidy Yusufpur, Chasanali, Ghyaspur, Sunpara, Pabnera, Patti Brahmanan and Begha, which were settled in 1826, were completely deserted by 1842.¹⁴ The revenue reports of those days are full of such remarks as "this village is entirely abandoned; half the villagers have run away; only five families are left in this village."¹⁵

A report from the Karnal district revealed many interesting facts regarding "the principles of the early settlements" of the British. The village of Chatra Bahadurpur, which had been assessed for Rs. 860, was made to pay Rs. 1,400; Malba Mazra, assessed at Rs. 2,180, beat Chatra Bhadurpur, hollow in poverty Kishampur assessed at Rs. 41,309 was inhabited by a few *zamindars* only and they were all crushed by poverty; and Atael, which suffered more than any of these villages on account of over-assessment, was deserted completely by its inhabitants.¹⁶ A similar tale of over-assessment and ruination of villages by previous settlements is told in John Lawrence's report on the settlement of the Rewari pargana of the Gurgaon district, which he assessed in 1836.¹⁷ Though he effectuated reduction in the district, the oppressed peasantry did not feel comfortably relieved. In the district of Rohtak, says the settlement report of the same tract, "the injudiciously heavy revenues have greatly retarded the progress of the district".¹⁸ In the district of Hissar three settlements for 10, 5 and 1 years were made from 1815 to 1840. But in all of them "the demand was so high" that it literally pauperized the cultivators. There was "complete disregard of bad seasons". The poverty-stricken masses when pressed hard to pay the revenue had no alternative

14. *S.R. Delhi*, p. 141.

15. *S.R. Karnal*, p. 48.

16. *S.R. Delhi*, p. 48.

17. Dovic, *The Punjab Settlement Manual*, p. 10.

18. *S.R. Rohtak*, p. 138.

but to "move off into the native states" in their neighbourhood.¹⁹ The over-assessments literally ruined the economy of the peasants. Since nothing was left with them for a rainy day, whenever the monsoons failed they experienced a terrible famine. The most distressing thing was that the Government on such occasions did not help the peasants in tiding over the difficult situations. In consequence the people experienced terrible distress and great loss of human and animal lives.²⁰

Some of the terrible famines during this period were in the years 1812-13, 1817-18, 1824-25, 1833-34, 1837-38, 1841-42, 1851-52, and 1857-58. Thousands of men and animals died of starvation during these famines, agricultural operations were suspended and most of those who survived fled to distant lands.²¹

The famines brought diseases and epidemics in their train. Cholera, malaria and other fevers took hold of the people whose vitality was affected by starvation. After every famine a long toll of victims were claimed by the diseases. The most severe epidemic spread in the year 1841. Fever ravaged the whole Haryana. In 1843 another attack of the similar epidemic took place and so severe was its fall that hundreds of thousands of people died of it.²² It is surprising that no relief works were organized by the Government during the terrible outbreaks of the fatal epidemics.

Religious Grievances

Muslims. The British interfered in the religious affairs of the Muslims. Ever since the occupation of Haryana by them in December, 1803, a number of Christian missionaries, patronized by the Government officials, roamed from one village to another. They converted many low-born Muslims to their faith. They

19. *I.G.I.*, Punjab, vol. II, p. 238.

20. *Hissar District Gazetteer (D.G.)*, p. 180.

21. *S.R. Rohtak*, pp. 44-49; *Karnal D.G.*, pp. 23-25; *Hissar D.G.*, pp. 180-3; *C.R.I.* 1951, vol. VIII, pt. IA, pp. 63-64.

22. *Karnal D.G.*, pp. 23-25.

criticized, condemned and ridiculed the Muslim scriptures and the Prophet in the streets, bazars and other public places without the least hesitation or fear.

The religious class of the *ulema* took strong exception to such religious interference. They became quite convinced that their religion was not safe in the British raj. Besides the religious interference, the British rule also made the *ulema* and the upper class third rate subjects. With the establishment of the civil courts in which the high officials were British and the lower ones mostly Hindus, the *ulema* stood to lose every thing, for it were they who generally filled the posts of *qazis* and *muftis* in the Indian courts in the past. Next, the indigenous schools, in which *ulema* got employment as teachers, were also replaced by the English schools.²³ The economic ruination of the Muslim cultivators and artisans with whom the *ulema* were associated as their religious teachers and guides and who gave in return voluntary financial subsidies to them, further worsened their lot.²⁴ In consequence the *ulema* held the British as their enemy number one. As a matter of fact, since the *ulema* had great influence on the masses, they openly preached that the British were enemies of their faith. Consequently the Muslim masses did not like British rule at all.

Hindus. Hindus formed a great majority in Haryana. Like the Muslims they also disliked the British rule for religious, cultural and a host of other reasons. The Christian missionaries who used to roam from village to village after the occupation of Haryana by the British, converted hundreds of Hindus to their faith. Besides, Hindu seers and scriptures were ridiculed in the streets, bazars and others public places by the missionaries and other Christians. The Brahmans and the Kshatriya castes, such as Rajputs, Jats, Ahirs, etc., and the lower castes were very unhappy due to this interference. Besides, the revenue

23. See *History of the Freedom Movement, Pakistan*, vol. II, pt. II, p. 361.

24. Hussain, *The Destiny of Indian Muslims*, pp. 21-22.

policy of the British Government has economically ruined the Hindu agricultural castes. Consequently, they nursed a strong feeling of resentment against this rule and when they got a chance to destroy it in 1857, they seized the opportunity with both hands.

Political Grievances

With the advent of the British rule, the sons of the soil lost their political importance. The princes were the worst sufferers. They ceased to enjoy the age-old proud privilege of being recognized as the natural leaders of their men. In consequence these chiefs nursed a grudge against the British rule. A true picture of their feelings is painted by a contemporary Englishman thus: "Ever hostile in heart to the great Government under whose shadow he (chieftain) exists, his ears prick up and eyes brighten when he hears of disaster true or invented."²⁵

Not satisfied with reducing the authority and power of the princes, the Government adopted the policy of finishing off as many of them as possible after 1810. Many of the sovereign possessions were declared ordinary grants for life only and were resumed after the death of their holders. Nawab Zabta Khan lost his state of Rania in 1818.²⁶ In 1843, Kaithal was occupied.²⁷ Then came the turn of the State of Ladwa in 1845.²⁸ In 1850, the state of Thanesar was acquired.²⁹

The descendants of the chiefs of the "lapsed states" turned out to be staunch enemies of the British. As an example, a contemporary account may be quoted from a letter of Tula Ram, the Rao of Rewari, from whose grandfather Rao Tej Singh, his estate worth Rs. 20 lacs per annum was taken by the British in 1803 and an *Istamarari jagir* of 87 villages was given in return. He wrote to equal Emperor Bahadur Shah as follows: "Point for

25. *Calcutta Review*, September 1859, p. 104

26. *S.R. Sirsa*, p. 30.

27. *S.R. Karnal*, para 97, pp. 34-35.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

the perusal of Your Majesty is that the pargana of Rewari, together with other parganas, yielding the annual revenue of about rupees twenty lakhs, was awarded in jagir to my forefathers by the *sanads* issued by the Emperors of India which remained in possession of my forefathers till the domination of the British Government and the above mentioned jagir too had been in their possession when the British took possession of the said jagir from them and the property worth rupees one lakh was given to my forefathers as a lease in perpetuity. The *sanads* issued to my forefathers were taken from them and kept in the records of the British Government. Consequent upon this injustice, my forefathers passed their lives in adverse financial circumstances and were praying to God, the Almighty, day in and day out, for the time when the Imperial Government will be able to gain the lost power again." And when the opportunity of such a nature came to them in 1857 the disaffected princes became very happy. In the words of the same person : "Thanks to God, the Almighty, that after the prayer of day and night the much desired day has arrived, that is, the said territory has again come under the empire of Your Majesty and I am extremely pleased to see these days full of happiness."³⁰

The foregoing discussion shows that The British rule of half a century in Haryana from 1803 to 1857 produced a great deal of discontent and disaffection among the people. Their destruction of the village communities, the panchayats and natural leaders brought social instability in the society; their economic policy of exploitation caused pauperization of the masses; the work of the Christian missionaries, who were supported by the Government officials, caused consternation in the minds of the people. The regular visitations of the terrible famines and deadly epidemics had made the life of the people unhappy and miserable. These factors prepared the ground for revolt in Haryana. It only required a spark for the bursting forth of a great conflagration. This was provided by the sepoys at Ambala and Meerut on May 10, 1857 and at Delhi on the 11th.

30. *Mutiny Papers*, bundle No. 34, document No, 12 (Persian).

II

On hearing the news of the catastrophes at Ambala, Meerut and Delhi, the people of Haryana who are well-known for their valour, unflinching courage, manliness of spirit and unusual love for freedom, rose en masse and opposed the British tooth and nail. A district-wise account of their activities is given below :

Gurgaon District

On the 13th May 1857 the mutineers of Meerut and Delhi attacked Gurgaon.³¹ W. Ford, the Deputy Commissioner could not oppose them effectively and fled away along with other British officers. This led the people to believe that the British rule had ceased to exist. Consequently the flames of rebellion flared up in the most virulent form in the whole of the district, more particularly in Mewat and Ahirwal (tehsil Rewari).³²

Mewat

The Mewatis rose up at once in great numbers. Their natural leaders and chaudharis addressed letters to Bahadur Shah acknowledging him the Emperor of Hindustan and began to conduct the 'intizam' of their villages and localities in accordance with his instructions.³³

In the last week of May almost the whole of the rural Mewat had come under the rule of Emperor Bahadur Shah; and large gatherings of the villagers attacked the towns of Tauru, Sohna, Ferozepur Jhirka, Punhana, Piningwan, Nuh, etc., and captured them.³⁴ After that in the parganas of Hodal and Hathin some 'loyalist' elements were routed.³⁵

31. File R/191 (State Archives, Panjab, Patiala); Jawala Sahai, *The Loyal Rajputana*, p. 260; Mead, *The Sepoy Revolt*, pp. 97-98.

32. Jawla Sahai, 260.

33. File R/269; *Trial of Bahadur Shah*, p. 118; *Sultan Akhbar*, June 10, 1857; *Glimpses of Haryana*, p. 85.

34. Nuh was taken after a deadly fight with the loyalist-khanzadas.

35. See *Gurgaon District Gazetteer*, 1910, pp. 5-6.

In the middle of June Major W.F. Eden, the Political Agent at Jaipur came and stayed in this region for a few months with a view to "destroying the rebels". But all went in vain. Sickness, discontent and growing spirit of revolt among his troops obliged him to return to Jaipur in August, 1857.³⁶

Ahirwal

Like the Mewatis, the Ahirs of Rewari region also played a significant role in ousting the British from their country. Their leader was Rao Tula Ram, an *istamarardar* of about 87 villages in this pargana³⁷

On May 17, Tula Ram went to the tehsil headquarters at Rewari with four to five hundred followers and deposed the Tehsildar and Thanedar. He appropriated the cash in the tehsil treasury, took all the Government buildings in his possession and proclaimed, under sanction of Emperor Bahadur Shah, his rule over the parganas of Rewari, Bhora and Shahjehan Pur consisting of 360, 52 and 9 villages respectively.³⁸ He made the headquarters of his Government at Rampura, a small village one mile south-west of Rewari.³⁹

After the assumption of the rule over this region, Tula Ram collected one and a half lacs of rupees.⁴⁰ With this money he enlisted a big force consisting of about five thousand men.⁴¹ He set up a large workshop in the fort of Rampura and manufactured

36. For details see *Foreign Secret Consultations*, Nos. 440-52, Dec. 18, 1857 (N.A.I.); Jawala Sahai, pp. 258-59; *Glimpses of Haryana*, p. 86.

37. His ancestors held a big state of the annual value of Rs. 20 lakhs. His grandfather Tej Singh did not render wholehearted support to the British during the Anglo-Maratha strife. The Britishers were annoyed with him and they reduced the ancient state of Rewari to a petty *istamarari jagir* worth Rs. one lakh annually in 1805. For details see my books, *Rao Tula Ram—A Hero of 1857*, pp. 11-13 and *Ahirwal Ka Itihas*, pp. 49-59.

38. *File R/192*, pp. 281-83 (State Archives, Patiala).

39. *Ibid.*

40. Man Singh, *Abhira Kuldipika*, p. 169.

41. *File R/192*, pp. 281-83.

guns, gun-carriages, and other small arms and ammunitions.⁴² He maintained law and order of the highest degree in his area.⁴³ Besides this, the Rao made strenuous efforts at rendering all possible help to Emperor Bahadur Shah and the 'rebels' waging war against the British in Delhi. He sent Rs. 45,000 for them at an hour of sore-need.⁴⁴ Besides that, he sent two thousand sacks and forty-three carts of grain to Delhi.⁴⁵

Unlike Tula Ram, the other chiefs of the Gurgaon District—Nawab Ahmed Ali of Farruknagar,⁴⁶ Raja Nahar Singh of Bullabgarh⁴⁷ and Akbar Ali of Pataudi⁴⁸ played a double role. When the people rose en masse in their states against the British, they had neither the means nor perhaps the will to put them down. Consequently they showed sympathy towards their subjects and offered lip allegiance to Emperor Bahadur Shah. But weaklings as they were, they equally feared the British. Therefore, they decided to please both the sides with their dubious roles; thereby they could please neither. In the cases of the Nawab of Farrukh Nagar and the Raja of Bullabgarh they paid the penalty with their lives, estates and property⁴⁹ and the Nawab of Pataudi who had hardly done anything against the British during the revolt was severely reprimanded.⁵⁰

42. Hodson, *Twelve Years of a Soldier's life in India*, pp. 331-32; *Bombay Overland Times*, in its issue of Nov. 1857, spoke very highly of the brass guns which were manufactured in the gun foundry of Tula Ram.

43. *File R/180*, pp. 47-43 (State Archives, Patiala).

44. *Trial*, p. 256.

45. *File R/192*, pp. 281-83.

46. For his double dealings see *Foreign Political Consultations*, Nos. 581-86, Aug., 8, 1858.

47. For his double dealings see *Foreign Political Consultations*, Nos. 51-55; March 4, 1859.

48. See *File R/192*, pp. 195-99; *Delhi Division Records*, Judicial, case No. 6 of 1858.

49. *Foreign Political Consultations*, Nos. 581-16, August 8, 1858; Nos. 51-55, March 4, 1859.

50. *File R/192*, pp. 195-99.



RAO TULA RAM

After the fall of Delhi on September 20, a big column was sent from Delhi under Brig.-Gen. Showers (on October 2) to crush the popular upsurge in Haryana. Throughout the month of October Showers laboured hard to realize his aims. But for Rao Tula Ram of Rewari, he seized most of the rulers of Haryana—Nawabs of Jhajjar, Dadri, Farrukhnagar and the Raja of Ballabgarh—dispersed their forces and took their forts⁵¹. While returning to Delhi in November, he carried fire and sword far and wide in Mewat. Villages on the way were indiscriminately burnt and people suspected to be anti-British were shot dead without any confirmation. Equally strong was the reaction on the part of the people. In the words of Showers himself: "From the time I entered the Gurgaon district I was in enemy's country, that is in all encampments and during every march I was exposed to the attacks of the enemies' horsemenI had to anticipate attack from every village that I passed,.....I had to be continually on the alert against an enemy."⁵²

As soon as Showers returned, the Mewatis and Ahirs again came out in open and revolted. In the third week of November there was a serious rising in Mewat at Kot Rupraka and Pinighwa. Capt. Drummond and Capt. Ramsay crushed these risings.⁵³

To crush the rising of the Ahirs under Rao Tula Ram, the British sent a strong column under Lt. Col. Gerrard. This column fought a ferocious battle with Rao Tula Ram and his associates—Gen. Abdus Samad Khan of Jhajjar, Prince Mohammad Azim of Hissar and the Jodhpur Legion—on November 16. Although Gerrard lost his life in this action, the Indians lost the day.⁵⁴

51. *Punjab Government Records*, vol. VII, part II, p. 209; *File R/188*, p. 19; *File R/194*, pp. 89-90.

52. *File R/191*. For details see my paper *Civil Rebellion in Mewat in the Revolt of 1857*, *Proceedings of the First History Conference, Panjab*.

53. *Ibid.*

54. For details of this battle see *Rao Tula Ram*, pp. 28-41.

Rao Tula Ram escaped and went to Iran, Afghanistan, etc., with a view to bringing help from these countries against the British. But he failed in his mission. His disappointment was total and he died in Kabul on September 23, 1863 at the age of 38.

In heroism, valour, patriotism and self-sacrifice, Tula Ram can justly be compared with the most brilliant characters of the Revolt of 1857, such as Rani Laxmi Bai of Jhansi, Nana Sahib and Tantya Tope. It is difficult to imagine what this brilliant man would have done, had he survived after 38 years. But his accomplishments in this short span of life are sufficient to crystallize the fire which was burning within his heart and which was capable of setting ablaze the combustible edifice of British Empire in India.⁵⁵

Rohtak District

Like Gurgaon, the people of Rohtak and especially the small communities of Ranghars, living in the midst of sturdy Jat population, "showed fight" to the British. On May 24, 1857, Tafzal Husain, an emissary of Emperor Bahadur Shah came to Rohtak with a small force. The British authorities tried to check him but they were defeated. Tafzal collected Rs. 1,10,000 from the Rohtak treasury and went back to Delhi. On his way he attacked the town of Sampla and burnt all the European buildings there. The custom bungalows at Meham, Madina, and Mandauthi were also burnt.⁵⁶

In those days hardly anybody was faithful to the British in the district of Rohtak. Kaye and Malleson (Vol. VI, pp. 140-41) admit this fact: "There can be little doubt that sympathy of the people, from noble to peasant, was enlisted on behalf of the representative of the Moghuls." Even the *mafidars* of the British

55. For a detailed account of the life and achievements of the Rao see *Rao Tula Ram*—and *Ahirwal Ka Itihas*, chapters 11-14.

56. *S R. Rohtak*, p. 37.

Government, who enjoyed rent free tenures and several other privileges, stood against their masters. *File R/131* preserved in the Panjab State Archives, gives a long list of 59 *mafidars* who opposed the British. They belonged to all the castes living in the district.

When Tafzal Husain left Rohtak, the district came in the grip of lawlessness. *The Settlement Report of Rohtak* (pp. 39-40) gives an exaggerated account of the factional fights among different Jat clans, but no incident of communal strife is there.

In the last week of May some "rebel detachments" of the Haryana Light Infantry from Hissar, Hansi and Sirsa passed through Rohtak while going to Delhi. They burnt the buildings of the district headquarters and public records, files and papers.⁵⁸ In the next month (June 11) the 60th N.I. revolted at Rohtak and made its way to Delhi.⁵⁹

In the months of June, July and August the situation became worse in Rohtak. To check it from aggravating further the British authorities at the camp before Delhi sent Lt. W.S. R. Hodson with a small force in the second week of August.⁶⁰ The people of Kharkhauda made a vain attempt to oppose Hodson. Their leader Sub. Bisarat Ali fought heroically. Even Hodson admitted: "They fought like devils."⁶¹ Next, Hodson met a stiff opposition at Rohtak. Indians fought ferociously and at the end the battle of Rohtak remained undecisive. Both the parties broke without registering victory on each other.⁶² Soon after this, Hodson returned to

57. See *Foreign Political Consultations*, Nos. 176-89, July 9, 1858 for double dealings of the Jhajjar Nawab.

58. Chaudhuri, *Civil Rebellions in the Indian Mutinies*, pp. 238-9; *Foreign Secret Consultations*, Nos. 100-103, Sept. 25, 1857.

59. Forrest, *Selections*, vol. I, p. 443.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 352; Cave-Brown, *Punjab and Delhi in 1857*, vol. II., p. 37.

61. Hodson, p. 265.

62. Forrest, vol. I, pp. 252-57.

Delhi, leaving the district under the care and watch of the Raja of Jind and some local chaudharis.⁶³

Hissar District

In this district the uprising of the troops stationed at Hissar, Hansi and Sirsa set the ball of rebellion rolling in the last week of May.⁶⁴ The people threw themselves heart and soul into the revolt. "The district villagers", reports an eye-witness, "created unheard of mischiefs."⁶⁵

Muhammad Azim, the Assistant Patrol of Bhattu (a prince of the royal family of Delhi) led the people on behalf of the Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah.⁶⁶ At Hansi, Hukam Chand, his nephew Faqir Chand and friend Meena Baig played important role and offered their services to Bahadur Shah.⁶⁷

In June General Van Courtlandt, the Deputy Commissioner of Ferozepur, came to Hissar at the instance of John Lawrence, to reduce the district. Capt. Robertson acted as a political officer with him.⁶⁸ The General was opposed in a very brave spirit by Nur-Muhammad Khan, the Nawab of Rania. The Nawab was, however, defeated and later on hanged.⁶⁹ Besides the Nawab, the Bhattis fought action after action with General Courtlandt. But they were defeated by him. Their villages were burnt indiscriminately. Nearly 133 persons were hanged and their properties were confiscated.⁷⁰

63. See *Glimpses of Haryana*, p. 53 for details.

64. For the rising of the troops (Haryana Light Infantry and Dadri Cavalry) at Hansi, Hissar and Sirsa see *Foreign Secret Consultations*, Nos. 100-3, Sept. 25, 1857; Kanhiya Lall, *Bhagawat-i-Hind*, pp. 196-99; *Hissar D.G.*, pp. 33-35; Chick, *Annals of the Indian Rebellion*, pp. 706-7; Jawala Sahai, p. 47.

65. Quoted by Kaye and Malleison, vol. VI, p. 139.

66. Chick, pp. 714-15; Jawala Sahai, p. 290.

67. *Ibid.* Later on they changed their loyalty. Yet they could not please the British and they were hanged.

68. See *Glimpses of Haryana*, p. 94 for details.

69. *Ibid.*

70. *Ibid.*

Panipat (Karnal) District

Despite heavy precautionary measures taken by the British authorities in this district, civil population rose up almost in every big village. Capt. MacAndrew informed the Government of India on June 1, 1857: "I find the country.....considerably disorganized; the revenue and Police officers are in the state of flight; many of the zamindars and big villages are quite refractory."⁷¹ The villages of Rohan, Kukeor, Tarawari, Shah Partik, Ruloudh, Jagdishpur, Sandhu Kalan, Murshidpur, Malik Sundar Lal, Malik Khairi, Fazilpur, Kuberpur, Sultanpur, Patti Musalmanan, Turuf Rajputanan, Sunarai, Bursut, Surut, Orlana Khurd were some of the prominent villages that refused to pay the land revenue and defied the British authority.⁷² A Jat village named Bulleh, 25 miles from Karnal, gave a very tough fight to the British. They defeated Capt. Huges of the 1st Panjab Cavalry on July 13.⁷³ Reinforced by the troops of the Nawab of Karnal and the Patiala Raja, Hughes again attacked the village after a few days and captured it.⁷⁴

After Bulleh the village of Julmana rose in open rebellion. Lt. Pearson made a vain attempt to capture the village. Next the parganas of Kaithal and Ladwa and the thana of Asandh raised the standard of revolt. In the month of June Lt. Pearson and Capt. MacNiel attacked and subdued the refractory villages in the district. Many villages were burnt to ashes, hundreds of persons were shot dead and hanged, and properties of thousands of persons were confiscated.⁷⁵

Ambala District

Despite heavy precautionary measures taken by the British authorities with the help of the troops of the Rajas of Patiala,

71. Foreign Secret Consultations, Nos. 162-63.

72. *File R/227* (Punjab State Archives, Patiala), June 26, 1857.

73. Cave-Brown, Vol. II, p. 37.

74. *Ibid.*

75. For details see Cave-Brown, Vol. II, p. 37; *Punjab Govt. Records*, Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 31.

Nabha, Jind and other Petty chiefs of the cis-Sutlej region, there was a popular upsurge in the district. There was a rising at Rupar. Sardar Mohar Singh, a Kardar of an ex-ruler of Rupar, gave lead to the 'rebels'. In league with Mohar Singh, the 5th N.I. stationed at Rupar also rose in revolt. Besides them, the Mir of Garhi Kotah and Pathans of Khizrabad and the villages of Ferozepur, Naraingarh, Thuska and Govindpur stood to oppose the British. Not only that, even the Baniyas and the Mahajans of the district showed unsympathetic attitude towards the Government. In the words of Forsyth, the Deputy Commissioner: "On this occasion the wealthy bankers of Jagadhari displayed a spirit of disloyalty and closefistedness unworthy of a class who owe all their prosperity to the fostering care and protection of the British Government."⁷⁶ Such elements were severely punished by the British.⁷⁷

By November 1857 the British were successful in crushing the popular upsurge in Haryana. Immediately after that this region was separated from the North-Western Provinces and it was tagged with Panjab in February 1858.⁷⁸ Since that time, till November 1, 1966, it remained a part of Panjab.

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76. *Punjab Govt. Records*, Vol. VIII, pt. I, p. 42.

77. For details see *Ibid.*, Vol VII, Pt. I, pp. 41-42; Cave-Brown, Vol. I, p. 212.

78. *Foreign Miscellaneous*, No. 365 (N.A.I.); File R/199; S.R. Delhi, p. 158.

Education in Haryana, 1854-1911

Before 1854, there were no schools or colleges¹ maintained with imperial funds in the whole of Haryana (then called Delhi territory). At that time education was solely a private affair and a few schools functioned in several districts on the lines of "the village school system of the North-Western Provinces." Their description has been given by A. Roberts in his *Report* for the year 1849 in the following words: "Panipat district in 1849 had 105 schools. It was composed of the parganas of Sonapat and Panipat and Karnal. Of 105 schools, 13 were Persian, 15 Arabic, 27 Hindi or rather Mahajani, and Sanskrit 32.....Mr. Johnson, the Deputy Collector, estimated the proportion of the school-taught children to the whole populations 1.8 percent. Delhi district had 321 schools, of which 270 were in the city, 8 in suburbs and 43 in the interior district. Rohtak had 46 schools.....and Gurgaon had 100 schools."²

Education was not popular with the masses. The agriculturists usually did not send their boys to the schools. On the whole the percentage of the total number of scholars to the number of

1. Except the Oriental College for the study of Arabic and Persian, at Delhi, which was founded in 1792, and was supported by voluntary contributions from the Muslim gentlemen. It received a bequest of Rs. 1,70,000 from Nawab Itimad-ud-daulah, Prime Minister of Oudh. See *Report by the Punjab Provincial Committee of the Education Commission* (Calcutta : 1884), p. 1.

2. Quoted by Leitner, *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab*, p. 18.

the male children fit to go to the schools was very low. The following table³ will bear out this fact :—

TABLE I
PERCENTAGE OF SCHOLARS

<i>District</i>	<i>Percentage of total number of scholars to the number of male children fit for schooling</i>
Panipat	6.4
Delhi	10.95
Rohtak	2.8
Gurgaon	3.4
Hissar	2.2

After 1857

The year 1857-58 is a great landmark in the history of the development of education in Haryana. After the great Revolt this region was detached from the N.W. Provinces and was tagged with Panjab. The educational set-up of the region was remodelled on the Punjab lines by the Director of Public Instruction⁴ and the Government started taking interest in the development of education in this region. But this was in no way an encouraging interest and the progress was very slow, as the following table will illustrate :—

3. *The Calcutta Review*, Vol. XIX, 1850, p. 175.

4. *Foreign Miscellaneous*, No. 365 (N.A.I., Delhi).

TABLE II⁵
DISTRICT-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOLS

Years	Ambala District		Karnal District		Rohtak District		Hissar District		Gurgaon District						
	Area in sq. miles	Total No. of Schools	Ratio of 2 to 1	Area in sq. miles	Total No. of Schools	Ratio of 2 to 1	Area in sq. miles	Total No. of Schools	Ratio of 2 to 1	Area in sq. miles	Total No. of Schools	Ratio of 2 to 1			
1863-64	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	125	—			
1870-71	—	73	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
		80									34				
1880-81	1852	97	1:19	3153	42	1:75	1799	40	1:45	5217	51	1:102	1984	82	1:24
1890-91	"	—	—	"	69	1:46	"	82	1:22	"	112	1:46	"	116	1:17
1900-01	1856	180	1:10	"	203	1:15	"	98	1:18	"	105	1:49	"	128	1:15
1910-11	1872	221	1:8	"	169	1:19	"	162	1:11	"	154	1:34	"	134	1:14

5. See *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Panjab, Vol. II, for different districts*; *Reports on the Progress of Education in Panjab for different years*; *Leitner, History of Indigenous Education in the Panjab.*

Expansion of Education

Table II gives the consolidated picture of the number of schools for each district of Haryana from 1860-61 to 1910-11. It will be seen from the table that the increase in the number of schools for each district was slow but steady. The rate of progress in opening of schools is recorded highest for Rohtak and Karnal districts. Yet Rohtak stood superior to Karnal in one respect that in 1880-81 Rohtak could provide one school for 45 sq. miles of area whereas the corresponding figures for Karnal stand at 1:75. This margin was narrowed in 1911 to 1:19 in case of Karnal and 1:11 in respect of Rohtak. The over-all progress as such goes in favour of Ambala District where in 1911 one school existed for every eight sq. miles. The most backward district, it is discernible from the table, seems to be Hissar where one school catered to the needs of 102 sq. miles in 1880-81 and by 1911 the margin could be narrowed only to the extent of one school to 34 sq. miles, the progress being substantial but in no way meaningful in comparison to the other districts.

The composite average figures for Haryana come to about one school for every 50 sq. miles in 1810-81 and one school for every 20 sq. miles in 1910-11. This shows a progressive trend and it can be said that on average one school could be added to one sq. mile during the period from 1881 to 1911. It is now left to the imagination of the reader to judge if this rate of progress is appreciable.

Extent of Literacy

Table III given on the next page will give an idea of the extent of literacy in Haryana during the period under review.

TABLE III^a
ENROLMENT OF SCHOLARS IN EACH DISTRICT

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Population of school going age</i>	<i>No. of Scholars</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Population of school going age</i>	<i>No. of Scholars</i>
<i>Ambala District</i>						
1863-64	—	N.A.	—	—	—	1,817
1870-71	1,035,488	86,290	4,929	610,927	50,910	1,399
1880-81	864,748	72,062	8,319	820,040	68,337	2,964
1890-91	863,641	71,970	—	861,160	71,763	2,483
1900-01	815,924	67,994	9,133	883,225	73,602	5,393
1910-11	689,970	57,498	9,559	799,787	66,649	5,831
<i>Karnal District</i>						
1863-64	—	—	2,036	—	—	—
1870-71	536,959	44,746	1,791	695,476	57,956	1,846
1880-81	553,609	46,134	3,562	672,569	56,047	4,189
1890-91	590,475	49,206	3,386	776,006	64,667	3,636
1900-01	630,672	52,556	5,097	781,717	65,143	5,085
1910-11	541,489	45,124	6,746	804,889	67,074	6,529
<i>Rohtak District</i>						
1863-64	—	—	3,629	—	—	—
1870-71	696,646	58,054	2,224	—	—	—
1880-81	641,848	53,487	3,807	—	—	—
1890-91	668,929	55,744	4,693	—	—	—
1900-01	746,208	62,184	5,139	—	—	—
1910-11	643,177	53,598	6,308	—	—	—
<i>Hissar District</i>						
1863-64	—	—	3,629	—	—	—
1870-71	696,646	58,054	2,224	—	—	—
1880-81	641,848	53,487	3,807	—	—	—
1890-91	668,929	55,744	4,693	—	—	—
1900-01	746,208	62,184	5,139	—	—	—
1910-11	643,177	53,598	6,308	—	—	—
<i>Gurgaon District</i>						
1863-64	—	—	3,629	—	—	—
1870-71	696,646	58,054	2,224	—	—	—
1880-81	641,848	53,487	3,807	—	—	—
1890-91	668,929	55,744	4,693	—	—	—
1900-01	746,208	62,184	5,139	—	—	—
1910-11	643,177	53,598	6,308	—	—	—

It will be seen from table III that there prevailed illiteracy of high magnitude among boys and girls of school-going age. From among the districts of Haryana, Ambala and Rohtak were leading other districts in respect of enrolment. Karnal lagged behind other districts of Haryana and could enrol only 8.7% of the population of school-going age in 1910-11. Curiously enough, Rohtak and Karnal were at par in this aspect in 1870-71 (4% for both the districts). Karnal could only double the percentage enrolment after efforts of 40 years, at the rate of .5% per decennium, whereas in Rohtak the enrolment rose more than three times. This incidentally suggests that there were factors other than the administrative—general pattern of administration being the same, everywhere which were responsible for the slow growth of education in these districts.⁷

Adult Education

The progress of total adult literacy in the period under study was more or less static. There had been no steady increase in female literacy, whereas progressive trend, by no way appreciable, in the area of adult male literacy was there. Ambala and Rohtak were somewhat in a better state than other districts in total adult literacy progress. The rest of the Haryana districts enjoyed only approximately 2.3% of the total adult literacy in 1910-11. The progress in adult literacy, when roughly compared with the percentage of progress of boys and girls, suggests that adult literacy was not of so prime importance to the people and the government, as general school education of boys.⁸

The study of adult literacy also suggests the growing wastage in school education. Although the exact details are difficult to encompass in this paper, it can be surmised that the school enrolment was 9% in 1881 and if it is assumed that these children, after giving discount to death rate, grew to adulthood, only about 2.5% could remain literate in 1911. This means that

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

increasing enrolment in schools for the period under study does not remain very significant in view of their relapse into illiteracy.

Girls' Education

TABLE III^a
PROGRESS IN EDUCATION OF GIRLS

Year	Schools		Scholars		Schools		Scholars	
	Ambala	Distt.	Karnal	Distt.	Gurgaon	Distt.	Rohtak	Distt.
1870-71	9	203	10	117	9	185		
1880-81	—	—	2	88	4	105		
1890-91	—	—	1	97	8	188		
1900-01	4	232	4	87	11	243		
1910-11	10	424	15	324	16	502		
	Rohtak Distt.		Hissar Distt.					
1870-71	1	16	4	133				
1880-81	—	—	—	—				
1890-91	4	124	—	—				
1900-01	5	209	5	197				
1910-11	20	566	11	349				

When the number of girls shown in table No. III is compared to the numbers shown in Tables I and II, one is at once struck by the fact that whereas expansion was somewhat planned and progressive in case of boys' education, girls' education seemed to be incidental or at the most if any thing was saved from expenditure on boys' education, it was spent on girls' education, perhaps under the strong stimulation of the educated few or the wealthier section of the society.

In girls' education the district of Rohtak surpassed all other districts. Rohtak district started a girls' school in 1870-71 with an enrolment of 16 girls and could provide as many as 20 such schools in 1910-11 with enrolment of 566 scholars. Progress in Hissar

district seemed to be the lowest. It had 11 schools and 349 girls studied there during 1910-11.

Two more factors are noticeable during this period which are of profound significance. The girls, during the period 1871 to 1911, could not pursue their studies beyond the primary stage in separate girls' schools. It means that there was no girls' school of middle or high standard in Haryana during the period under study. Second factor is, although it pertains to one particular district, that is Ambala, that all the 203 girls studying in all the nine girls' schools belonged to Muhammadan community. This is indicative of the social inertia in other communities towards female education.

This appalling state of affairs was the general reflection of the sad tale of female education throughout the length and breadth of this country. There were only 21 high schools in whole of India in 1920-21.¹⁰ It can be said, however, with justification that the malady was more deep-rooted in case of Haryana than any other place. The administrative apathy was as much responsible for this as general social inertia of the time.

Expenditure on Education

It is difficult to estimate the pecuniary contribution of the provincial revenues for each district separately. The study, hence, is restricted to the expenditure on education as borne by the district boards and municipal boards which are supposed to be the main sustenance for school education in their respective areas.

The performance of the local bodies may be judged better with the help of the following table which can claim to be representative for the period of our study for there was no significant shift in administrative policy in regard to the role of the local bodies after 1890—the year for which the figures are given.

10. Resolution of Gulab Singh, *The Legislative Assembly Debates*, Punjab, Vol. I, 1921, p. 359.

TABLE IV¹¹

**STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION
FROM D.B. FUNDS, 1889-90**

<i>District</i>	<i>25% of district fund income exclusive of grants etc.</i>	<i>Minim. provl. reqd. by Govt.</i>	<i>Actuals for edu. gross exp. other than that on sch. buildings.</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>IV</i>
Ambala	26,510	29,982	25,983
Karnal	25,363	27,463	23,376
Rohtak	30,077	32,593	28,665
Hissar	36,393	37,661	17,626
Gurgaon	31,468	33,373	24,459

It will be seen from the table above that the district boards were required to spend about 25% of their income on education. Column III in the table includes 25% of D.B's income plus the grants obtained from the state treasury and the amount earned through fees, etc. The table reveals that no district board spent the required amount of money. Of all the Haryana districts, Hissar presents the most dismal picture as it spent only about 50% of the required amount.

Two conclusions can be drawn from the short study of this table. The D.Bs. did not attach as much importance to education as it deserved. Secondly, perhaps, it was beyond the capacity of the D.Bs. to spend the required minimum as they were called upon to spend on other public activities which could earn a name for them. Be that as it may, the position as a whole reflects, not happily, on the working of the Boards. Besides that, the reduced amount of expenditure is also

11. *Report on the Progress of Education in Punjab, 1889-90, p. 12.*

a reflection of the general social inertia prevailing in the society at that time.

Municipal Committees, apart from the district boards, were another agency responsible for education. The following table provides the figures of the expenditure on education from Municipal funds.

TABLE V¹²

<i>District</i>	<i>10% of Muni. income</i>	<i>Minimum provi. reqd. by Govt.</i>	<i>Actual gross expenditure</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>IV</i>
Hissar	10,681	23,881	22,556
Rohtak	4,074	19,145	19,788
Gurgaon	8,767	21,070	18,252
Karnal	9,179	22,355	20,840
Ambala	8,888	21,440	18,590

The Municipalities possessed other sources of income, in addition to 10% of their usual income, such as subventions from the state, fees and the like. It is due to other sources, therefore, that the municipal committees could easily surpass their 10% of income to spend for education. But as regards the performance in expenditure on education in relation to the minimum requirement of the Government, it was as good or bad as in the case of district boards. Rohtak district, which earns a name of distinction in this study, is the only district whose performance, as revealed in the above table, is the best of all. It spends more than the minimum requirement. On the whole, however, the situation is not in any way shifting in comparison to what we have seen in respect of the district boards. The comments, hence, need not be repeated.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Reasons of Backwardness

The discussion that has followed in the preceding pages hints directly and indirectly at the major stumbling blocks in the path of progress of education in Haryana. The major factors responsible for the backwardness are :

- (i) administrative;
- (ii) social; and
- (iii) financial.

The officers serving in this region showed great apathy towards this territory. For instance, the *Annual Education Report* for 1889-1890 enumerates instances of the inspectors who never visited schools and many of them had to pay the penalty by their dismissal.¹³ Similarly the *Punjab Education Report*, 1887-88 accounts for the decrease in enrolment in these words : "In the Delhi circle, the attendance has been affected by an unusually sickly season" as well as due to enhanced rates of school fees.¹⁴ The same officer further notes : "Much remains to be done, before the buildings, furniture and apparatus are what they should be throughout the schools already existing in the circle." Regarding the role of private munificence in education in this region, he says : "The number of native gentlemen who are really interested in educational matters, and are anxious to found new schools or improve old ones, is very small."¹⁵ Compare it with the following remarks of the Inspector, Jullundur district : "The year under report has been one of marked activity in respect of private enterprise in education."¹⁶ To sum up it may be said that Haryana, during the period under review, had been :

- (i) a place of sickly seasons where almost eight years in every decade had been labelled as drought years;

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

- (ii) a region where private munificence had not played a leading role in the expansion of education;
- (iii) pervaded with social inertia in respect of educational expansion;
- (iv) more administratively apathetic than Punjab; and
- (v) a backward region with dwindling finances which hampered the growth of education.

Taken as a whole the position of education during the period under review was far from being satisfactory.

Sarwan Kumar

Literature in Haryana, 1700—1900 A.D.

Except for a few works written in Sanskrit and Urdu, most of the literature produced in Haryana during the period under review (1700—1900 A.D.) is in Hindi : the reason being that this tract is predominantly Hindi-speaking. A general survey of this literature is given below :

Hindi Literature

As regards Hindi literature in Haryana, we find that from 1700 to 1900 A.D., it abounds mainly in poetical works. Examples of prose writing are conspicuously absent during this period, the first attempt to produce literary works in prose having started at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. In fact, like all other regions this was the age of poetry in Haryana too.

The poetical works written during this period are mostly religious and philosophic in content and mystic in tone. In the latter part of the period "the sublime in Hindi poetry had already started becoming formal and divine love but thinly-veiled eroticism throughout the country". But in Haryana the main currents of Hindi religious and mystic poetry are quite clearly traceable and, the degeneration into formalism and eroticism becomes manifest considerably later than elsewhere.

The main currents of the poetry as exemplified in the literature that flourished and flowered in this region are discussed here in brief.

Nirguṇa¹ Poetry

Of the Nirguṇa saint-poets of Haryana, known so far to us, Garib Das is the earliest. He was born on Vaiśākha sudi 15, 1774 V.S. (1717 A.D.) at a small village named Chhudani in the Jhajjar tehsil of district Rohtak. His father's name was Bali Ram and he was a Jat by caste. He is one of the very important saint-poets in Hindi taken as a whole.

His book *Hikharabodha* contains 24,000 *padas* and is considered by scholars as one of the standard classical works on the Nirguṇa philosophy deserving of special attention. Besides this, two other books, *Bijaka* and *Ratnasāgara*, were also composed by him. In all these works the learned author has provided a detailed and logical exposition of the dogmas and ideologies of the Nirguṇa sect. The people who believed in his *bāṇīs* were called Garibadāsīs and this way he founded a sect² of his own which has even today many followers in Haryana, Panjab, U.P. and Rajasthan.³

Garib Das's contemporary saint Nityanand of Narnaul also made substantial contribution to the Nirguṇa literature by his *Guru Grantha Sāhib*, containing his *bāṇīs* and a general work *Satyasiddhāntaprakāśa*. Since he had a very good knowledge of the *Rāgas*, he has placed all the *padas* in the *Satyasiddhāntaprakāśa* under different *rāgas*. Both these works of Nityanand are published. Recently we have come across a manuscript of his another work entitled *Bārākhaḍī*, where he has explained difficult philosophical problems in simple verses beginning with Devanāgarī alphabets.⁴ Jait Ram, fourth son of Garib Das, composed a

1. *Nirguṇa* means beyond-quality. A class of *santas* regard God as devoid of attributes or passions, i.e., beyond-quality (*Nirguṇa*). This class of *santas* has come to be called by this name. For detailed information see Barathwal, *Hindī Kāvya meṅ Nirguṇa-Sampradāya*, Lucknow : 2007 V.S.; Parsu Ram Chaturvedi, *Uttarī Bhārata Kī Santa Paramparā*, Allahabad : 2012 V.S.

2. Now-a-days Mahanta Ganga Sagar is occupying the hereditary *gaddī* of this sect at Chhudani.

3. He died on Bhādon Sudi 21, 1856 Vik (1799 A.D.)

4. A *bārākhaḍī* was also written by his Guru Gumani Das of Tauru, district Gurgaon.

number of devotional songs on various themes, such as Garib Das's *Janmakathā*, *Mūla Janma Kā Aṅga*, *Dhruva Bhakta Kathā*, etc. Recently all his *bāñīs* have been published from Rohtak under the title *Jait Ram Ki Bāñion Kā Sangraha*.⁵ A contemporary of Jait Ram and disciple of Garib Das was Dayal Das who composed *Vicāra-prakāśa* based on the subject of *advaita*. The book comprised five chapters and is written in question-answer technique. The construction of the sentences in the book is greatly affected by the local Haryāṇavī dialect.

One of the greatest litterateurs not only of Haryana, but in the whole of India also, in the latter eighteenth and early nineteenth century, was Nishchal Das. He was born at Dhannana (district Hissar) in a *Jat kula* in the year 1791. He got his education of *Sāṅkhya*, *Nyāya*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Vedas*, etc., at Kashi.⁶ He was a follower of the *Dādūpantha*. Ram Singh, the Raja of Bundi, is said to have become his disciple.⁷

Remarkable for his creative genius, this versatile scholar wrote a number of monumental works in prose and poetry in Hindi and Sanskrit. His greatest contribution to Hindi poetry is his philosophical work *Vicārasāgara*. The book has been translated and published in English, Bengali and Marathi. The opinion of the scholarly world towards this work is well expressed in the following words of Swami Vivekananda: "This book has more influence in India than any book that has been written in any language within the last three centuries."⁸

5. These *bāñīs* were recorded by Narsingh Das. He finished this work in the year 1836.

6. He himself records this fact thus :

सांख्य श्याय में अम कियो पढ़े श्याकरण अरोष ।
पढ़े मन्म अरैत के रक्षो न पफो रोष ॥
कठिन जो और निबंध हैं जिन में मत के भेद ।
अम ते अगगाहन कियो निरचलदास सबेद ॥

7. Nishchal Das died in 1863. He was cremated at Nigambodh Ghat, Delhi.

8. Swami Vivekananda, *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 280.

Hirde Das of Village Badli in district Rohtak (birth 1885 A.D.) composed on Nirguṇa themes two books: *Hridayaparakāśa* and *Nirguṇabodha*. Shankar Nath of Asthal Bohar (Rohtak) wrote in simple verse a biography of Baba Mastanath. It is published under the title *Mastanātha Kā Jīvan Charita* from Rohtak.

Jaina Poetry

Haryana produced a number of *Jaina-Kavis* during the period under review. The most versatile among them was Rup Chand Pandey. He lived at Kurukshetra,⁹ and wrote a number of learned works between 1623 and 1637 A.D. Of his works only *Gīta paramārthi*, *Maṅgalagītaprabandha*, and *Jina stuti* are so far available. Except *Khaṭolanā Kā Gīta*, which is a book of child-affection songs, all the *granthas* pertain to the themes of Jaina philosophy and dharma.

Another Jaina poet Anandaghana,¹⁰ of some village near Sirsa (seventeenth century) wrote an important work *Ānandaghanabahatari śatāvallī* which throws light on the various aspects of the lives of the Jaina tīrthāṅkaras. We have been told that a Jaina *kavi* Bhagavati Das of village Buria composed as many as twenty five poetical works; but it is irony of fate that not even one of them is available today. A Jain *muni* Hema Vijaya's *Pada Nemī nātha* is also a useful treatise on Nemi Nath.

Nirmala Poetry

In the region of Kurukshetra there were many *maṭhas* of the Nirmala¹¹ sect of the Sikhs during the period under review. Here many poets of deep knowledge of Hindi, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Urdu,

9. His birth place was Salempur. His father's name was Bhagwan das and he was Agrawala by caste.

10. He had another name Labhanand also.

11. *Nirmala* means pure. It is a Sikh order opposed to the Akalis. They do not undergo any rite of purification but simply receive *amrita* like other Sikhs. See *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. IX, pp. 375-76.

Persian, etc., had lived. They composed many *granthas* of literary merit. A general survey of their works is attempted below :

Gopal Singh of Kurukshetra was a distinguished scholar in the latter half of the eighteenth century. He is said to have composed twenty-five books. So far we have known his *Bhāvarasā mrita*, *Mokhapanthaparakāsha*, *Rāmagītā*, and *Rāmahrīdyā*. Sant Ram Singh of Thanesar wrote *Vedāntaprasānottaramālā* in 1834 A.D. A granthi of a Gurdwara at village Dhaddi (Kurukshetra) composed two books (1153-54). On the philosophy of the Sikh religion.

Most of the books of the Nirmala scholars are written in a very simple and straight language. They depict their religious philosophy.

Poetry of the Court Poets¹²

During the period under review Hindi poetry flowered at the hands of a number of outstanding poets in the courts of the Indian princes. Mukand Das of Palwal¹³ (District Gurgaon) who was at the court of Raja Karam Singh of Patiala in the later part of the eighteenth century wrote *Rasaśiromaṇī* and *Sarvasangraha*. Another illustrious scholar of this period was Bhai Santokh Singh. He was at the court of Raja Udai Singh of Kaithal. He wrote a number of scholarly treatises on various subjects. The most important of his writings are *Amarakośa* (Hindi translation), *Nānakaparakāśa*, *Ātmapurāna* (translation), *Garvaganjanītikā on jupji*, *Bālmikī Rāmāyaṇa* (translation), *Gurupratāpasūrya*. His last named grantha is considered to be a work of great literary merit and ranks among the great books composed in that age in India. At the close of this period Sambhu Dayal of Dadri who was at the Jind court composed *Rukamaṇī-mangala*.

Sufistic Poetry

In the realm of *sufistic* poetry, the contribution of Haryana during the period under review is not striking. A number of works

12. *Haryana Chitra*, Chandigarh, Nov. 1967, pp. 42-43.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-45.

were written but they are all, save the works of Muhammaḍ Afzal Qadri,¹⁴ of little literary merit. Poet Qadri was born at Panipat and had great faith in *sufism*. His *Bikaṣa kahānī* (1722 A.D.) is an important work. In it, he has depicted the force of love and its separatist effect (*viraha*) on human beings in a masterly manner. Besides him, Seikh Bahaddin Chisti, Ghulam Qadir Jilani, Sheikh Musa, Nasir ul Haqq, etc., composed verses embodying the *sufistic* spirits.¹⁵

Haryanavi Poetry

In Haryana people speak mainly Bangru, Ahirwati and Mewati dialects of Hindi. During the period under review a number of poets wrote in these Haryanavi dialects. Of the Haryanavi Poets Dedhraj of *Nāṅgī pantha* is the earliest. He was born in the year 1771 at village Dharus near Narnaul in district Mahendragarh. His father's name was Puran and he was Brahman by caste.

He was a social reformer and preached against the social evils of the age through simple verses written in Ahirwati.¹⁶ His *bāñīs* have been recorded in *Dedhraj kī Bañion Kī Pothī*.¹⁷ He is said to have written three learned works too, but they are not traceable so far.

Baba Haridas (1807) wrote an interesting book *Raja Ratana-sena* in the Bangru dialect.¹⁸ Swami Ram Swarup of village Gauru, (Gurgaon) was a great poet. He was a social reformer too.¹⁹

14. He was so liberal in his religious beliefs that he has assumed even a Hindu name Gopal for himself.

15. *Haryana Chitra*, Nov. 1967, pp. 37-40.

16. A dialect spoken in the region around Rewari. For details see Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, Vol. IX, Part II, pp. 3, 43, 49-51.

17. I saw a copy of this *grantha* with Dr. K. C. Yadav at Rewari.

18. For a detailed study of Bangru dialect see S. L. Yadav, *Haryana Pradeshā Kā Loka Sāhitya*.

19. Against bride-selling he wrote :

झाप के बेसी गिनाए घर में, जब देख प्रसन हुए सब घर के ।
 छोरी हो सात की दीनी साठी को, भोरे जो झप हैं घर के ।
 कौन कहे जग में हम सेती, न अब रहे हम काहू के घर के ।
 रामसरूप अब छोरी के कारण, थाल उके पकवान के घर के ॥

He wrote a number of works: *Krishṇalīlā*, *Rūpa-Bāsanī*, *Harishchandra* and *Shravarānīra*. He waged a relentless struggle against the social evils through his popular verses. Suraj Bhan of Bhiwani (b. 1869) wrote interesting books *Dulhā dhārī* and *Mazlum*. In the latter work, the author wrote against the exploitation of the Indians by the British. It was written in such an anti-British manner that they banned the book and punished the author. Dev Datt of Gurgaon (b. 1869) translated *Bhagvad Gītā* into Haryanavi under the title *Gītāsandesha*. Ahmed Bakhsh, a Muslim poet, composed *Sānga Rāmāyaṇa*, *Gugā Chauhāna*, *Saurāṣṭha Padminī*, etc.²⁰

Hindi Prose

The Hindi prose in Haryana during the period under review constitutes perhaps one of the earliest prose work in Hindi in general. In the early nineteenth century, the versatile writer Nishchal Das (1791-1863 A.D.) wrote two scholarly works: *Yuktiprakāsha* and *Vrittīprabhākara*. Both these *granthas* have been published and they are masterly expositions of *Advaita* philosophy, presented in a simple form with an admirable lucidity of expression.

It is indeed a big jump from Nishchal Das to Babu Balmukand Gupta (1865-1907 A.D.), the great name in Hindi Literature. His works are regarded masterpieces in the early modern Hindi prose.

Balmukand Gupta was born at Guriani in Jhajjar tehsil (Rohtak district) on Kārtika (Shukla) 4, 1922 Vik (=1865 A.D.). In the last decades of the 19th century he translated a number of famous works from other languages like Bengali, etc. into Hindi, most famous of them being *Modela Bhaginī* (1889), *Haridāsa* (1895), *Ratnāvālī nāṭikā* (1898). Later on he made original substantial contribution to Hindi Literature by his learned works like *Shivashambhū Kā Chitṭhā*, *Dillī-Bhāshā*, *Chitṭhe aur Khat* and

20. All these *sāngas* are available in published form.

many smaller works, such as *Khilonā*, *Khela-Tamāshā*, *Sarpāghāta-chikitsa*, etc.²¹

Babu Balmukand Gupta also made great contribution to the development of journalism in Hindi. In the words of R.C. Majumdar: "Balmukand Gupta of Rohtak and his two associates, Amritlal Chakravarti and Prabhu Dayal Pandey edited from Calcutta a weekly paper, the *Hind Bangavāsī*, which was the most influential Hindi Newspaper during the two closing decades of the nineteenth century and considerably advanced the Hindi prose style". Besides *Hind Bangavāsī*, Gupta was also edited *Hindustan*, and *Bhāratamitra*. Like Balmukand Gupta another versatile genius of Haryana was Madhav Prasad Misra who made great contribution to Hindi journalism. He is universally acknowledged as a great Journalist of his time. He was born at a village named Kungar in district Hissar in 1871. He edited a number of newspapers and periodicals, chief among them being *Sudarshana* and *Brahmaṇa*. Besides that, he wrote learned essays on various political, social, economic, and religious themes to the standard papers. All these essays of Misra are published in a book form by the Indian Press, Prayaga under the title *Madhava Prasad Misra Nibandhāvalī*.

Sanskrit Literature

During the period under review, the literary activity in Sanskrit was of a secondary nature; most of the works being of the nature of digest and commentaries. But this was the case almost every where in India.

The celebrated author of *Vicārasāgara* (Hindi) Nishchal Das (1791-1863) wrote readable commentaries on *Isha-Upanishad*, *Kathā Upanishad*, and *Mahābhārata*. Besides, he wrote many scholarly works such as *Vritavivarṇa*, *Vritidīpikā*, *Bhāshā Āyurveda*, etc.

21. For details of his life and work see K. C. Yadav, *Ahīrwāl Ka Itihas*, pp. 106-108.

unhappily these *granthas*, are not available to us today. In the latter part of the nineteenth century a number of Sanskrit scholars composed many Sanskrit works. Shridhar of village Desna (Kurukshetra) wrote a simple commentary on the *Bhagwad Gītā*. A two-volumed book *Sutra Vrtti* is attributed to Haridwari Lal of Kurukshetra.

Urdu Literature

Being in the close proximity of Delhi Haryana always remained under the direct socio-political influence of this historic city and the development of Urdu and its literature was on the lines similar to those prevailing in Delhi. Rewari, Jhajjar, Hansi, Hissar, Panipat, Karnal and Ambala were great centres of creative literary activities as far as Urdu literature was concerned. In the catalogues of the Urdu works we find numerous references to the scholarly works of a number of writers from Haryana. Unhappily not many of these works are available today and we feel some of them have been lost for ever.

Haryana has also produced historians. Rao Man Singh, Bakhshi of Rao Tula Ram of Rewari, wrote a learned work on the history of the Ahirs (ancient Ābhiras) in the second half of the nineteenth century. It also deals with the history of the Rewari State from 1555 A.D. to the close of the nineteenth century. Written in simple Urdu, it throws a flood of light on the political, social and religious conditions of Haryana of that time. Its title is *Ābhirakuladipikā*.²² Besides this work, another very useful book on history was written during this period by Ghulam Nabi under the title *Tarikh-I-Jhajjar*. As the title explains, it is a comprehensive history of the Jhajjar state from 1803 to 1858 and throws ample light on the various aspects of life of the people of Haryana and the adjoining places.²³

22. The book is extremely rare. A copy of the book is with Dr. K. C. Yadav.

23. Only one copy of the book is available in India. It is in the State Archives, Panjab, Patiala.

Of all the urdu literature produced in Haryana during the period under review, the creation of Altaf Husain Hali²⁴ is the best. He was born at Panipat in 1837. His father's Name was Aizad Bakhsh. He was a great scholar of Urdu, Persian, Arabic and knew a little English also. He wrote a number of scholarly works in prose as well as poetry. They are : *Mazamin-i-Hali* (1881), *Makatib-i-Hali*, *Maqalat-i-Hali*, *Maqtubat-i-Hali* (2 vols.), *Musaddas-i-Hali* (1879), *Hayat-i-S'adi* (1884), *Muqaddima-i-sher-o shairi* (1893), *Debacha-i-Dewan-i-Hali* (1893), *Dewan-i-Hali* (1893), *Yadgar-i-Ghalib* (1897). Although all his works are masterpieces; his *Muqaddima-i-sher-o-shairi* is truly "an epoch-making work."²⁵ Here, in more than two hundred pages, he has elaborately discussed the art of poetry as understood in the east and the west and "sums up the essentials which have been recognized on all hands as forming the life and substance of all good poetry."²⁶ To set an example to others he composed poetry on the modern lines and condemned to the old, stale and vulgar style hitherto followed by the Urdu poets. He is rightly called the "Father of modern Urdu poetry."²⁷ This literary giant of Haryana died on December 31, 1914.

This brief survey of the literature produced in Haryana in two hundred years, from 1700 to 1900 A.D., shows that the people of this region, though materially backward, did not neglect their intellectual pursuits. In consequence they made handsome contribution to the Indian literature produced during that period.

Ranjit Singh

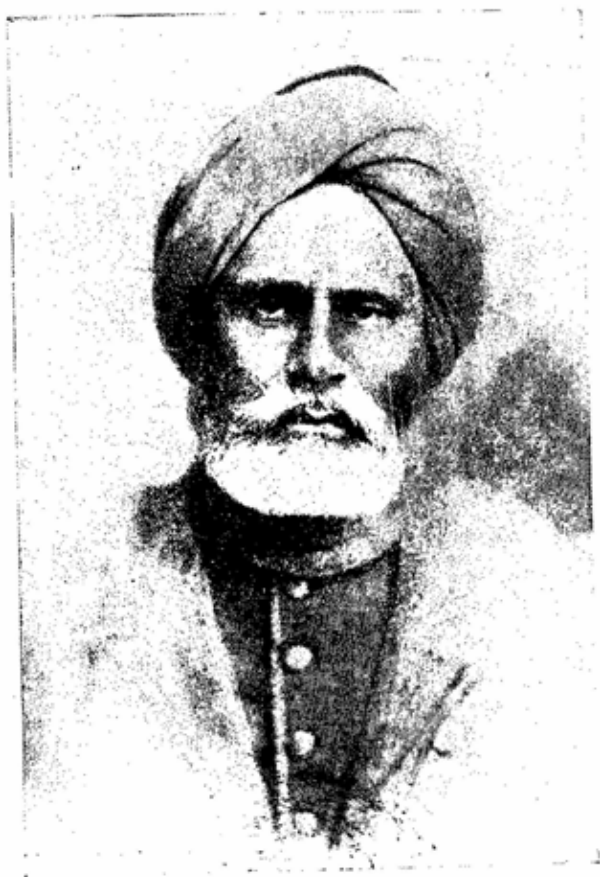
24. I am thankful to my friend, Dr. K. C. Yadav for information on the life and work of Altaf Husain Hali.

25. Abdullah, *The spirit and substance of Urdu prose under Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan*, pp. 140-41.

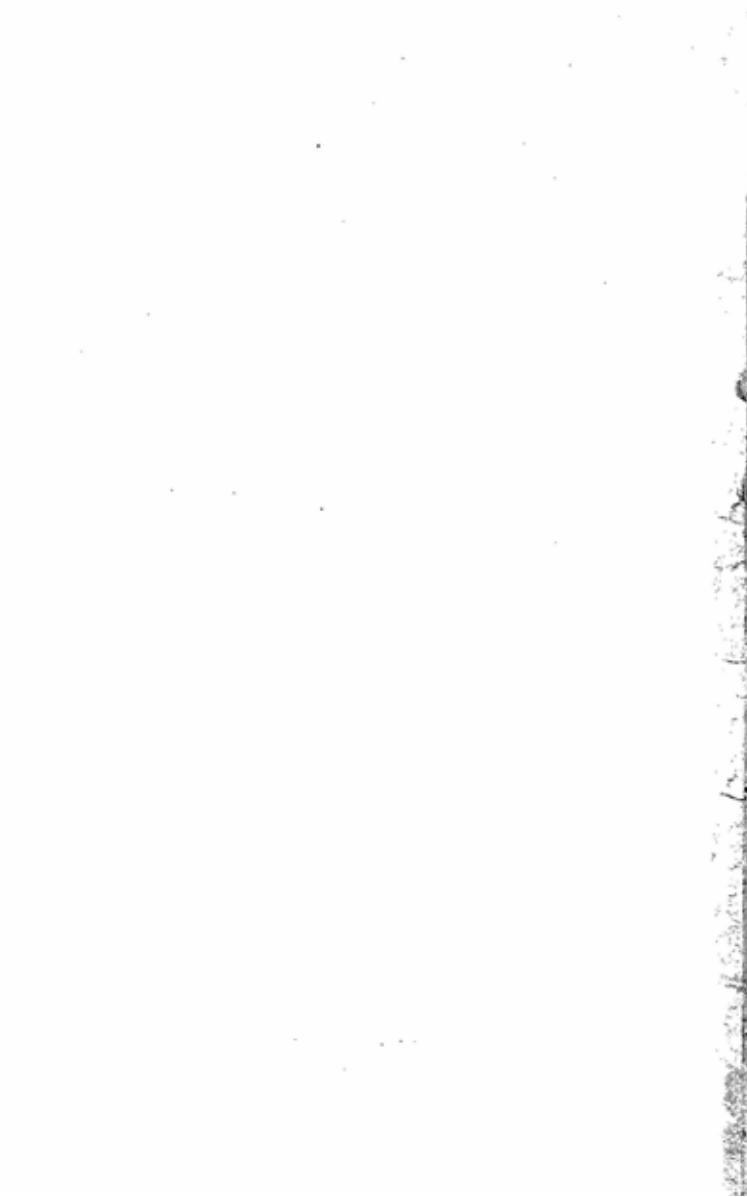
More than seventy editions of this book have been published so far.

26. Latif, *Influence of English literature on Urdu Literature*, p. 10.

27. R. C. Majumdar calls him "the innovator of the modern spirit in Urdu poetry." *British Paramountcy*, Vol. IX, part II, p. 215.



Altof Husain Hali



Ch. Chhotu Ram : The Man And His Work

The nineteenth century produced in India many great men who were able fully to display their talents in various fields of life; and in Haryana such a man was Chhotu Ram.¹ He was born on November 24, 1881 at a small village called Garhi,² in district Rohtak. His father's name was Sukhi Ram. He was a Jat by caste. A petty farmer of narrow means, Sukhi Ram could not give better type of education to his son who was exceptionally brilliant. Yet the boy achieved a lot. He passed his B.A. examination with flying colours in 1905.³

Soon after leaving the college, the speedy choice of a career was forced upon Chhotu Ram by his adverse financial circumstances; and he became an Assistant Private Secretary to Raja Rampal Singh of Kalakankar (Uttar Pradesh). But his heart was not in the profession and he wished to get legal education. Accordingly he left Kalakankar and proceeded to Lahore to transform his intention into a working reality. He joined law classes there but epidemic of plague which spread in Panjab and Delhi soon afterwards obliged him to leave Lahore. But determined as he was to be a law graduate, nothing could stand in his way and he passed his LL.B examination after a couple of years from Agra in 1911.⁴

1. His real name was Ram Richhpal. Since he was the youngest of all the brothers, he was called *Chhotu* (i.e., small). In due course the second name became more popular and it replaced the former.

2. It is near Sampla, approximately 28 miles from Delhi.

3. He passed his primary examination from Sampla in 1894; middle examination from Jhajjar in 1897; and matriculation examination in 1899 from the St. Stephenson's High School, Delhi. He did his F.A. two years later from the St. Stephenson's College, Delhi.

4. For details see Kaghbir Singh Shastri, *Chhotu Ram*, Delhi: 1965, pp. 28-53.

After finishing his studies, Chhotu Ram started legal practice at Agra. But this city could not hold him long and he went to Rohtak, the headquarters of his home-district. Here he had only a few years to wait before he came to the front in the profession. He became famous and gained a wider clientele.

Most of the clients of Chhotu Ram were Jats and other peasants from the rural areas. They were extremely poor people. Their poverty was not due to indolence, laziness or inactivity on their part but it was due to their exploitation by the money-lending class. Besides charging exorbitant rate of interest,⁵ they treated the peasants like slaves. Chhotu Ram being a son of a petty farmer had personal experience of the appalling conditions of the *kisans*. He remembered the treatment that his father once met at the hands of a village *Bania* who gave him (his father) the *punkha* cord to operate the fan for him. At another time he was asked to sit down at the feet of the money-lender who himself occupied a respectable place on a *charpai*.⁶

Chhotu Ram gave a serious thought to these problems of the helpless peasants and strove hard to find out ways and means to effect improvement in their lot.⁷ In 1916, he started a paper entitled *Jat Gazette* to make them politically conscious, socially advanced and economically well off.⁸ How he proceeded with this work can be better explained by quoting his own words. He wrote in the columns of the *Jat Gazette* : 'The peasant is sleeping like Kumbhakarna.....I have been trying to awaken him by various means. He opens eyes and again goes to sleep. The reality is that the exploiters of the *Kisan* have got such a gas with them

5. The peasants of Panjab paid Rs. 12 crores as debt to the money lenders every year. For details see Darling, *The Panjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*, Bombay : 1947, p. 184.

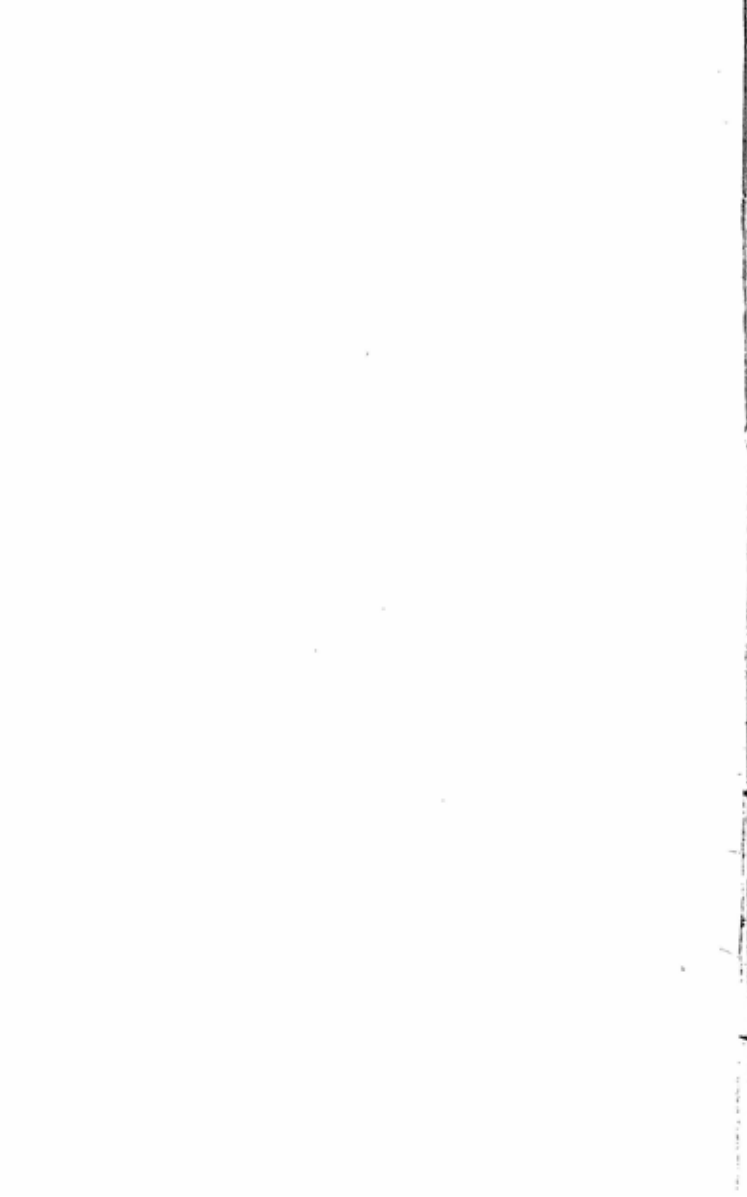
6. Sen (Ed.), *Punjab's Eminent Hindus*, Lahore : 1943, p. 13; Raghbir Singh, pp. 28-38.

7. Raghbir Singh, pp. 57-81.

8. See appendix 1 at the end of this chapter.



CHAUDHARI CHHOTU RAM



that they at once make him unconscious'.⁹ In a very interesting but forceful manner he told the tale of the miserable lot of the farmers thus : "People call him *annadata* (producer of grains) but nobody cares to think that he also needs grains for himself. The greatest wonder of the world is that one who produces grains remains hungry."¹⁰ He drew the attention of the Government towards the exploitation of the peasants in the following bold words : "People break laws when they are not pleased with the Government, but *kisans* will not behave in this vein. They will break the backbone of the Government. I, therefore, strike a note of warning to the rajas, nawabs and the Indian government that they should not exploit the farmers like that. They should not maltreat the *Bholanath (kisan)* to such an extent that he may be compelled to take to the *tandava nritya*."¹¹

When the British Government did not move to help the farmers Chhotu Ram started preaching a *Jihad* against it among the *Kisans*. To quote his own words : "The worst sufferers of the British rule are the peasants. We are being ruled by the *black Bantias* (Indians) with the support of the *brown Bantias* (English men) : the latter are degrading us politically, while the former are ruining us economically. The *kisan* community, in fact, has been pauperized by the *brown Bantias* through the *black Bantias* from the very beginning."¹² How such a rule could be finished was explained by the Chaudhari in the following words : "Hindus, Muslims and Christians in India should unite together. They should

9. His exact words are as follows :—

किसान कुम्भकरण की नींद सो रहा है.....में जगाने की कोशिश कर रहा हूँ। कमी पाँव के तलवे में गुदगुदी करता हूँ, कमी मुँह पर ठण्डे पानी के छिटि मारता हूँ। बड़ भाखें खोलता है, करबट लेता है, भंगवादे लेता है, लेकिन जम्माई लेकर फिर सो जाता है। बात यह है कि किसान की नींद से फावदा उठाने वाली जमावतें एक ऐसी गैस अपने पास रखती हैं कि इस से फौरन बेहोशी पैदा हो जाती है।

10. His address to a *Kisan* Conference at Jodhpur, quoted by Raghbir Singh, p. 388.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*, p. 335.

realize that the same blood flows in their veins. And with this unity, we can attain swarajya."¹³

From the beginning, the congress had great attraction for Chhotu Ram. He liked its programme. He had immense faith in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, and had especial liking for his work of rural uplift. Perhaps nobody at that time understood better than Chhotu Ram what Mahatmaji meant by his famous statement : "To serve villages is to establish swarajya."

82 He organized the work of the Congress in district Rohtak with great enthusiasm. In 1916, he became the first president of the District Congress Committee. Hundreds and thousands of Jats and *Kisans* of Haryana followed him blindly. This influence, in fact, was not exercised through coercion or by any other cunning means but by his complete identification with the peasants.

The Rohtak *kisans* played a significant part in the national liberation movement under the inspiring leadership of Chhotu Ram. The British authorities got alarmed and the Deputy Commissioner of Rohtak recommended Chhotu Ram's deportation. But higher officers did not endorse the recommendations of the Deputy Commissioner as they thought "it would lead to disturbances in the district."¹⁴

In August 1920, Chhotu Ram resigned from Congress when they adopted the resolution of non-cooperation. He did not believe in non-cooperation and defiance of law. He believed in the "attainment of *swarajya* through constitutional means."¹⁵

Although Chhotu Ram left Congress in August 1920, yet, to quote the words of the Editor, *The Tribune*, "he never got tired of appreciating the greatness of Mahatma Gandhi. He always used to say without the least hesitation that despite difference of opinion on many matters, the Congress was the party that he liked most."¹⁶

13. *Ibid.*, p. 387.

14. *Sen, Op. Cit.*, pp. 14-15.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

16. *The Tribune*, Ambala, June 10, 1945.

As seen above, Chhotu Ram believed that by entering into the assemblies and council and by occupying more and more seats in the services the attainment of *swarajya* would become easier.¹⁷ In this regard, his advice to the *kisans* was that they should choose their leaders with cool and calm mind.¹⁸

On the other hand, he urged the Government to give proper representation to the peasants in the assemblies, councils and local bodies. He advocated that no residential qualifications should be imposed on the competent representatives of the *kisans*. His letter written to *The Tribune* on May 1, 1920 is a vivid representation of his point of view on this matter. "The imposition of any inter-district restrictions on the score of residence will seriously imperil the chances of any real growth of political life in the countryside. Rural areas cannot boast of any excess of thoroughly competent candidates, and such a crude application of the principle of the residential qualification as is proposed by the Halifax Committee will result in a political disaster of the first-magnitude. It is difficult to view with equanimity the prospect of a council swarming with mere dummies. And if the recommendations of the Halifax Committee are accepted, this will be exactly the result. Inefficiency, incompetence, incapacity and ignorance will be the only fruits which can be borne by the Halifax Committee's recommendations."¹⁹ The justice of this criticism was in time recognised and residential qualification was removed in 1923.²⁰

Chhotu Ram was one of the greatest champions of the Hindu-Muslim unity and stood "like the Rock of Gibraltar against the communal forces." He believed that "the right thing for Hindus and Muslims is that both of them should unite together in their efforts to attain independence."²¹ Regarding Jinnah's

17. Coupland, *The Constitutional Problems in India*, p. 172.

18. Raghur Singh, pp. 383-13.

19. Quoted by Azim Husain, *Fazl-i-Husain, A Political Biography*, Bombay : 1946, p. 110.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Quoted by Raghur Singh, pp. 384-85.

two Nation theory and his demand for Pakistan, Chhotu Ram said : "We cannot say whether Mr. Jinnah has been purchased by the British Government, yet his movement has slackened the pace of Indian independence and the British are making excuses of Hindu-Muslim disunity, etc., for not granting *swarajya* to us.....It is our duty to strive hard to bring about unity in India"²²

Chhotu Ram believed that the key to the problem of Hindu-Muslim Unity lay in Panjab. "If a solution is found in Punjab", he said, "other provinces will be simple to deal with. In the Panjab the problem can be solved only if parties or associations are formed on the basis of community of economic interests".²³ Accordingly he formed the Unionist party with the help of Fazl-i-Husain in 1923.²⁴ What this party stood for is explained in the following statement of Fazl-i-Husain : "It is non-communal, it is non-tribal..... It stands for self-respect and patriotism. It has undertaken to fight for the masses."²⁵

An era of peace, prosperity and plenty came in Panjab when the Unionist party of Chhotu Ram and Fazl-i-Husain took over the reins of Government in its hands. The communal problems were decreased and different communities started appreciating the view points of each other on every issue. The *kisans* got special treatment; their exploitation by the money-lenders became a happening of the past by the passage of such legislations as *The Debtor Protection Act*, *The Registration of Money-lending Act*, *The*

22. *Ibid.*

23. Sen, pp. 14-15.

24. For details regarding this party see Sikandar Hayat, "The Panjab Unionist Party, Its Record and objectives", *Times of India*, Bombay, April 1, 1937; Azim Husain, pp. 302-11, 345-46; *Manifesto of the Panjab Unionist Party*, Lahore : 1936; *Panjab Legislative Assembly Debates*, Vol. I, July 12, 1937, pp. 946-47.

25. *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 12, 1936.

*Restoration of Mortgaged Lands Act, The Panjab Agricultural Produce Marketing Bill, etc.*²⁶

Chhotu Ram was a great source of inspiration and strength to his party. About him Fazl-i-Hussin²⁷ said : "Chaudhari Chhotu Ram did excellent work as minister, his work as leader of the Unionist party is unsurpassed by any leader of a party in any of the provincial legislatures. The ability, the industry, the sincerity, the enthusiasm, the perseverance, the persistence, the courage and the independence all of which he possesses in pre-eminent degree have won him the gratitude of the province and of every member of the party."²⁸ Another tribute to his organizing capacity is paid by Penderel Moon in the following words : "For a generation he had been one of the main pillars of the Unionist party. He was a forceful politician of great renown."²⁹

The Unionist party was against the division of India. Chhotu Ram, to quote the words of *The Hindustan Times*, was a great source of strength to his party against the ferocious attacks of the Muslim League.³⁰ Consequently Jinnah became his staunch enemy. It was due to Chhotu Ram that Panjab, though a Muslim-majority province, did not come under the Muslim League like Bengal and Sindh after the 1937 elections. Jinnah tried his level best to bring the Unionist leaders under his influence by fair means or foul. But he could not succeed as long as Chhotu Ram remained alive.³¹

26. For details see Raghbir Singh, pp. 139-47, 174-76, 212-36. For their appreciation see *Civil and Military Gazette*, Jan. 11, 1945; *The Pioneer*, Jan. 12, 1945.

27. Azim Husain, p. 279 : "He is hard working, intelligent and clear-headed, distinctly and considerably above the average. I wish Firoz possessed of even half the qualifications which distinguish Chhotu Ram from others".

28. *Ibid.*

29. Penderel Moon, *Divide and Quit*, London : 1961, p. 40.

30. *The Hindustan Times*, Jan. 11 1945.

31. *The Leader*, Allahabad, Jan. 21, 1945 said : "Jinnah's failure in the Panjab affairs was due to Sir Chhotu Ram".

There is no denying the fact that if Fazl-i-Husain and Chhotu Ram would have remained alive for some time more, "Jinnah would not have been able and would not even have attempted to win over the allegiance of the Panjabi Muslims and Pakistan would have remained an impracticable students' scheme."³² But fate decreed otherwise and by removing Fazl-i-Husain on July 9, 1936 and Chhotu Ram on June 9, 1945, gave Jinnah his chance.

Chhotu Ram was undoubtedly one of the greatest men of his time. He rendered distinguished services as a lawyer, as a publicist, as a legislator and as a minister; but his greatest contribution was in his championship of the cause of the poor peasants and the down-trodden. We still remember him as a *dinabandhu*.

J. R. Siwach

Appendix

An extract from Ch. Chhotu Ram's article entitled 'Bechara kisan,' i.e. 'The helpless Peasant'.¹

किसान भारतीय समाज का सबसे कमाऊ पूत है, लेकिन टुकड़े-टुकड़े से मुहताज है। वह कैसे अच्छी-बुरी चीजें पैदा करता है, दूध, घी, मक्खन इसके घर में ही पैदा होता है। गुड़, चीनी को तरबकी देने वाला वही है। गेहूँ, चावल और तमाम दूसरी किस्म की चीजें सब इसी की बदौलत हैं। बाजारों और मण्डियों की पहल-पहल और रोक बढ़ाने का खास कारण डाका की मलमल और बनारस की गुलबदन का असली मसाला यही पैदा किया करता था, और अब भी यही पैदा करता है। नागौरी बैल और किसके घर पैदा होते हैं? मगर किस कदर दुःख से भरा हाल दुनिया की नजरों के सामने है! सब चीजों का पैदा करने वाला और सब चीजों की हृदय से अलग दूसरों से मांगने वाला है।

तमाम मुल्क की खतियां इसी के पैदा किये हुए अनाज से भरी जाती हैं। रेलगाड़ी इधर से उधर इसी के खेत की पैदावार से लदी हुई फिरती है। बड़े-बड़े जहाज अपने बोझ के लिए इसी पर निर्भर हैं। मगर किसान है कि पेट भराई को सूखे अनाज के मिलने का भी उसे भरोसा नहीं। दूध भी पैदा करता है मगर इसकी कंगाली इस बात की आज्ञा नहीं देती कि इसके बच्चे उपरोक्त चीजों को रोजाना खा सकें। वे बेचारे कभी स्प्रीहार के दिन ही इनके जायके जान सकते हैं। मोटे से मोटा कपड़ा कुटुम्ब की कुल आवश्यकतायें पूरी करने के लिये नहीं मिलता। गर्मी और वर्षा ज्यों-ज्यों करके गुजार देता है लेकिन जब जाड़ा है तो एक मुसीबत बेचारे के सिर सवार हो जाती है। अच्छे-अच्छे लिहाफ, तोपक और कम्बल तो उसको कभी सपने में भी नजर नहीं आते। अगर रात के लिए मोटे और बगैर रंगे कपड़े की सौड़ (रजाई) ऊपर ओढ़ने को और पुराने कपड़ों का बना हुआ कबूला बिछाने को मिल जाय और दिन में खदर की चादर या दोहर

1. It was serialized in the *Jat Gazette*.

भोड़ने को मिल सके तो किसान अपने आप को भाग्यशाली समझता है। मगर इस बेचारे के कुन्बे के हर एक आदमी को ये चीजें कहीं प्राप्त हो सकती हैं। सुबह और शाम इसके बच्चे धूप की तरफ मुंह करके जाड़े से मुक्ति पाने की कोशिश करते हैं। जब सोने का वक्त आता है तो एक नई आपत्ति सामने आ जाती है। भोड़ने को कपड़ा नाकाफ्री होता है। इसलिए एक-एक चारपाई पर दो-दो तीन-तीन सोते हैं। चारपाई को तंग और अंधेरे कमरे में बिछाते हैं ताकि ठंडी हवा अन्दर न जा सके। नीचे बिछाने की कमी को इस तरह पूरा करते हैं कि नीचे जमीन पर फूस बिछाते हैं और जमीन पर सो कर फूस से भरीयों के तोपक का काम लेते हैं। महलों में रहने वाले मालदार गरीब किसान की मुसीबत का अन्दाजा नहीं लगा सकते हैं। और जो कंगाली की राह नहीं जानते वह किसान की मुसीबतों को क्या जान सकता है? मगर ऐ लाड़-चाव से पले हुए भरीयो! ऐ मुसीबतों को न जानने वाले लखपतियो! ऐ मालदार शहर के रहने वाले! बेचारा किसान, गरीब देहाती हलपति किसान मुसीबतों की जंजीरों में जकड़ा हुआ है। इनकी ईद ईद नहीं है। इसकी शुबरात शुबरात नहीं हैं, सबको भूला हुआ है। इसका दशहरा भाराम का दशहरा नहीं, रंज और मेहनत का दशहरा है। इसकी होली रंग-रेलियों की होली नहीं, आंसू बहाने की होली है। तुम तरह-तरह के मजेदार खाने खाते हो, वह लाल शक्कर और मोटे चावल के लिए शायद अपना बेला गिरवी रखने की फिक्र में है। तुम कीमती और चटकीले कपड़ों में सजे फिरते हो, वह अपने मोटे खददर के कपड़ों को धोबी से धुलवाने और रंगरेज से रंगवाने की जरूरत नहीं रखता। तुम्हारी औरतें सोने-चांदी के आभूषणों से बोझ मरती हैं, वह अपनी औरत की किसी एक कम कीमत चांदी की टूम उतारने पर रजामन्द करने की कोशिश में लगा हुआ है ताकि वह त्योहार के दिन अपने बच्चों का मुंह मीठा कर दे। तुम मेलों में गैसदार पानी (सोडावाटर), चाय, कहवा इत्यादि से अपने बिगड़े हुए मिजाज की खातिर करते हो। मगर गरीब किसान अपने बच्चे को भुनी हुई मूंगफली खरीदने के लिए एक पैसा दे सके तो वह ईश्वर को धन्यवाद देता है कि मेले में इसका बच्चा भी भाराम के सामान से खाली न रहेगा। परेशानी और फिक्र हर वक्त किसान के सर पर खड़ी रहती है, कभी साहूकार का तकाजा है, कभी नम्बरदार का।

II

Appendix

List of important archaeological sites in Haryana ranging between the Sothī culture and the medieval period, explored by śrī Suraj Bhan. The Cultural affiliations of the sites are indicated by the following abbreviations :—

Sothī Ware	=S
Harappan Ware	=H
Late Harappan Ware	=LH
Painted Grey Ware	=PG
Plain Grey Ware	=G
Early Historic Ware	=EH
Raṅgmahal Ware	=R
Medieval Ware	=M

S.No.	Site	District	Ceramic industry
1.	Thol	Karnal	PG; EH
2.	Bodha	—do—	LH
3.	Mohanpur	—do—	LH
4.	Kasiala	—do—	PG
5.	Banehra	—do—	LH; PG
6.	Morthali	—do—	PG
7.	Chimarheri	—do—	S
8.	Staur	—do—	PG
9.	Mangna	—do—	M
10.	Rasulpur	—do—	PG; EH
11.	Ratta Khera	—do—	H
12.	Guhla	—do—	G
13.	Ottu	Hissar	R; M
14.	Maboli	—do—	M
15.	Dhamora	—do—	M

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Ceramic Industry</i>
16.	Nagrana	Hissar	M
17.	Rania-1	—do—	M
18.	Rania-2	—do—	PG; M
19.	Rania-3	—do—	M
20.	Rania-4	—do—	M
21.	Rampu Theh	—do—	M
22.	Mirzapur	—do—	M
23.	Harnia	—do—	M
24.	Kasi Wala Thehra	—do—	EH; M
25.	Majjal Theh	—do—	G
26.	Wani	—do—	G
27.	Gidranwali-1	—do—	M
28.	Gidranwali-2	—do—	M
29.	Kesu Wala	—do—	M
30.	Kutte Waddha	—do—	M
31.	Ratta Khera	—do—	M
32.	Talwara Khurd	—do—	R; M
33.	Baddi Maidi	—do—	EH; M
34.	Mauju Khera	—do—	M
35.	Buddha Bhana	—do—	M
36.	Kirad Kot	—do—	M
37.	Theraj (Chakko)	—do—	S
38.	Jhanda Khurd	—do—	M
39.	Hirka	—do—	S; H
40.	Bora	—do—	G
41.	Lali 1	—do—	M
42.	Lali 2	—do—	M
43.	Kalotha	—do—	M
44.	Vananwali	—do—	S; H
45.	Modia	—do—	R
46.	Madho Singhana	—do—	R
47.	Mangala-1	—do—	M
48.	Mangala 2	—do—	R
49.	Sirsa	—do—	R; EH; M
50.	Sikandarpur 1	—do—	RM
51.	Sikandarpur-2	—do—	M

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Ceramic Industry</i>
52.	Moriwala	Hissar	M
53.	Thehri Rasulpur-1	—do—	M
54.	Thehri Rasulpur-2	—do—	M
55.	Bhaudin 1	—do—	M
56.	Bhaudin 2	—do—	M
57.	Bhaudin 3	—do—	M
58.	Bhaudin 4	—do—	M
59.	Patali	—do—	M
60.	Gilhan Khera 1	—do—	M
61.	Gilhan Khera 2	—do—	M
62.	Gilhan Khera 3	—do—	M
63.	Karnauli 1	—do—	M
64.	Karnauli 2	—do—	M
65.	Daryapur	—do—	M
66.	Haripura	—do—	M
67.	Hijrawan Khurd 1	—do—	M
68.	Hijrawan Khurd 2	—do—	M
69.	Ratta Tibba	—do—	PG
70.	Burj	—do—	LH; PG
71.	Chandoh Kalan	—do—	M
72.	Kaulagarh	—do—	PG; EH
73.	Bhiwani Khera	—do—	PG
74.	Talwara	—do—	S; PG
75.	Chimun	—do—	SH
76.	Ghaswa-1	—do—	S
77.	Ghaswa-2	—do—	PG
78.	Rupan Wali-1	—do—	PG
79.	Rupan Wali-2	—do—	PG; G
80.	Ratta Theh	—do—	S; H
81.	Uklana	—do—	EH; M
82.	Bhuna	—do—	EH; M
83.	Bhimpura	—do—	M
84.	Shahpur	—do—	S
85.	Mata Shyam	—do—	S
86.	Saleem Garh	—do—	S
87.	Siswal	—do—	S; H

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Ceramic Industry</i>
88.	Satrod Khurd 1	—do—	S
89.	Satrod Khurd 2	—do—	S; M
90.	Alipur Kharar-1	—do—	S
91.	Alipur Kharar-2	—do—	S
92.	Alipur Kharar-3	—do—	S
93.	Patan 1	—do—	S; M
94.	Tokas	—do—	R
95.	Rakhi Garhi	—do—	S; H
96.	Rakhi Shahpur	—do—	S
97.	Milakpur	—do—	EH
98.	Pali-1	—do—	G
99.	Pali-2	—do—	S; H; G
100.	Sisai-1	—do—	S
101.	Sisai-2	—do—	M
102.	Sisai-3	—do—	S; H
103.	Bir Bada Ban	Jind	S; H; EH
104.	Khera	—do—	M
105.	Khokhari-1	—do—	LH; PG
106.	Khokhari-2	—do—	LH; PG; M
107.	Barsana-1	—do—	EH; M
108.	Barsana 2	—do—	S
109.	Manhorpur	—do—	LH; PG
110.	Ritoli	—do—	H; PG
111.	Hallan	Karnal	PG
112.	Popdan	—do—	PG
113.	Barhi	—do—	EH
114.	Mundh-1	—do—	PG; EH
115.	Ikas	—do—	EH; M
116.	Ittal	—do—	PG; EH
117.	Sangat Pura	—do—	H
118.	Kasuna	—do—	G; M
119.	Neesang-1	Karnal	PG
120.	Nisang-2	—do—	LH
121.	Pilana	—do—	LH
122.	Dachar	—do—	S
123.	Rattak	—do—	PG; EH; M

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Ceramic Industry</i>
124.	Rajaund	—do—	PG; EH; M
125.	Pai	—do—	M
126.	Jatheri	—do—	LH
127.	Mohna	—do—	LH
128.	Maudi-1	—do—	M
129.	Maudi-2	—do—	H
130.	Baola	—do—	H; PG
131.	Sambhi	—do—	PG
132.	Pujam	—do—	H; PG; EH
133.	Ladwa	—do—	PG
134.	Mustafabad	Ambala	PG
135.	Chandigarh	U.T.	LH
136.	Manimajra	—do—	PG
137.	Poli	Hissar	HP

III

Appendix*

HARYANA TODAY

Haryana as a separate state came into being on November 1, 1966 as a result of the reorganization of Panjab in accordance with 'the Panjab Reorganization Bill' passed by the Indian Parliament on September 10, 1966. Area of the new state of Haryana is 43,869 sq. kilometres and its population is approximately 76,00,000 (urban : 13,07,680; rural : 62,82,863).

Capital	: Chandigarh
Division	: Ambala
Districts	: 7 Hissar, Rohtak, Gurgaon, Karnal, Ambala, Jind and Mahendragarh
Tehsils	: 27
Hissar	: Hissar, Sirsa, Fatehabad, Hansi and Bhiwani
Rohtak	: Rohtak, Sonapat, Gohana and Jhajjar
Gurgaon	: Gurgaon, Ballabgarh, Palwal, Ferozepur- Jhirka, Nuh and Rewari
Karnal	: Karnal, Panipat, Kaithal and Thanesar
Ambala	: Ambala, Naraingarh and Jagadhari
Jind	: Jind and Narwana
Mahendragarh	: Mahendragarh, Narnaul and Dadri

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BLOCKS

Ambala	: Ambala, Barara, Bilaspur, Jagadhari, Chhach- rauli, Mani-Majra, Naraingarh and Raipur- Rani
--------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

*Compiled by Shri Ranbir Singh Chaudhari, Department of Political Science, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.

- Gurgaon : Ballabhgarh, Faridabad, Ferozepur, Jhirka, Gurgaon, Sohna, Pataudi, Nuh, Hathin, Punhana, Palwal, Hodal, Rewari, Khol and Bawal
- Hissar : Bhiwani, Tosham, Fatehabad, Loharu, Bahuna, Ratia, Hansi, Mundhal, Narnaud, Hissar, Bhirnawas, Barawala, Tohana, Sirsa, Rania, Baragudha and Dabawali
- Karnal : Kaithal, Asandh, Pundri, Rajaund, Guhla, Karnal, Gharaunda, Nisang, Nilokheri, Panipat, Madlauda, Samalkha, Thanesar, Ladwa and Shahabad
- Rohtak : Gohana, Kathura, Meham, Mundlana, Jhajjar, Beri, Sahlawas, Nahar, Bahadurgarh, Rohtak, Kalanaur, Kharkhauda, Sonapat, Ganaur and Rai
- Jind : Jind, Safidon, Narwana, Kalayat and Uchara
- Mahendragarh : Kanina, Mahendragarh, Ateli Nangal, Narnaul, Nangal Chaudhri, Berd Kalan, Dadri and Badhra

ELECTION CONSTITUENCIES

- Lok Sabha : 9
 State Legislative Assembly : 81

Assembly Constituencies

- Ambala : Kalka, Naraingarh, Chhachhrauli, Jagadhri, Yamunianagar, Mullana, Naggal, Ambala Cantt and Ambala
- Karnal : Shahabad, Thanesar, Babain, Nilokheri, Indri, Karnal, Jundla, Gharaunda, Samalkha, Panipat, Naultha, Rajaund, Pundri, Sheharda, Kaithal and Pehwa
- Jind : Kalayat, Narwana, Jind, Julana and Safidon
- Rohtak : Meham, Baroda, Gohana, Kailana, Sonapat, Rai, Rohat, Kiloj, Rohtak, Kalanaur, Beri, Sahlawas, Jhajjar and Bahadurgarh

- Gurgaon : Faridabad, Ballabgarh, Palwal, Hassanpur, Ferozepur Jhirka, Nuh, Hathin, Sohna, Gurgaon, Pataudi, Rewari, Bawal and Jatusana
- Mahendragarh : Ateli, Narnaul, Mahendragarh, Kanina, Badhra and Dadri
- Hissar : Loharu, Tosham, Bhiwani, Mundhal Khurd, Narnaund, Hansi, Bawani Khara, Adampur, Hissar, Barwala, Tohana, Fatehbad, Badopal, Sirsa, Rovi, Dabwali and Allenabad

Parliamentary Constituencies

Ambala, Karnal, Kaithal, Rohtak, Jhajjar, Gurgaon, Mohindragarh, Hissar and Sirsa

**VOTERS AND SEATS IN THE GENERAL ELECTIONS
OF 1962-1967**

District	No. of Voters		Vidhan Sabha seats		Parliamentary seats	
	1962	1967	1962	1967	1962	1967
Hissar ...	7,99,229	9,21,417	10	17	1	2
Rohtak ...	7,59,026	8,12,635	11	15	2	2
Gurgaon ...	6,48,958	7,46,419	9	13	1	1
Karnal ...	7,87,134	8,37,750	11	16	2	2
Ambala ...	3,82,944	4,57,129	6	9	1	1
Jind ...	2,08,585	2,71,844	3	5		
Mahendragarh ...	2,96,113	3,23,529	4	6	1	1
Total ...	5,881,989	4,370,723	54	81	8	9

WORKING AND NON-WORKING POPULATION

WORKERS

Males :	21,19,660
Females :	7,58,890
Total	<u>28,78,550</u>

NON-WORKERS

Males :	19,43,137
Females :	27,68,856
Total	<u>47,11,993</u>

Main occupation : Agriculture

AGRICULTURE

Utilisation of Land (in thousand Hectares)

	1950-51	1955-56	1960-61	1965-66
Area under cultivation ...	4,386	5,390	4,389	4,402
Forest	22	32	64	81
Land not available for cultivation	437	439	438	449
Uncultivated Land— Excluding Forests ...	538	428	299	200
Fallow land ...	406	191	187	335
Net area sown	2,983	3,300	3,401	3,337
Area sown for more than once	...	1,204	1,182	733
Total cropped area ...	...	4,504	4,584	4,070

CO-OPERATION

		1965-66
No. of all societies	...	10,214
Membership	...	8,25,175
Working Capital (Thousand Rupees)	...	3,60,301

PRIMARY CREDIT SOCIETIES

	Agriculture	Non-Agriculture
No. of limited Societies	... 972	116
No. of unlimited	... 5,887	469
No. of villages and towns served	... 6,368	...
Population served by societies (in Thousands)	... 6,170	...
No. of members (in Thousands)	... 502	928
Total assets (Thousand Rupees)	... 1,14,285	5,639
Total liabilities	... 1,04,798	4,933

INDUSTRIES

Registered Factories and works employed in 1965-66

<i>Number of Registered Factories</i>								
<i>Under sections</i>								
—	Under Section 2m (i)	Under Section 2m (ii)	With Power	Without Power	Total	No. of Registered Working Factories	No. of Workers employed in Working Factories	
Hissar	...	121	6	39	...	166	142	9,702
Rohtak	...	122	2	34	...	158	146	7,395
Gurgaon	...	286	1	27	...	314	292	24,908
Karnal	...	131	26	55	...	212	196	5,350
Ambala	...	296	8	32	...	336	314	19,502
Jind	...	13	...	11	...	24	20	296
Mahendragarh	...	5	1	2	...	8	6	862
Total		974	44	200	...	1,218	1,116	68,015

ROADS AND ROAD TRANSPORT

(Kilometres)

	Maintained by P.W.D. (B&R)	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66
I. National highways—				
(a) Metalled surfaced	...	771	764	764
(b) Metalled unsurfaced	...	13	...	...
Total	...	784	764	764
II. State highways—				
(a) Metalled surfaced	...	3,657	3,748	3,983
(b) Metalled unsurfaced	...	117	163	222
(c) Unmetalled	...	487	855	657
Maintained by local bodies—				
(a) Metalled	...	354	317	317
(b) Unmetalled	...	2,756	2,714	2,714
Total Length in Kilometres		8,155	8,561	8,657
Total Length in Miles	...	5,056	5,308	5,367

**MEDICAL AND HEALTH SERVICES HIGH
HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES (1965-66)**

State Special

District	State Public	Police	Cannal	Railways	Others	Local Bodies	Private aided	Private unaided	Subsidised	Total
Hissar ...	40	1	5	2	2	10	1	4	...	65
Rohtak ...	30	1	1	...	1	7	2	...	6	48
Gurgaon	31	1	...	1	1	12	3	...	1	50
Karnal ...	34	...	2	...	1	6	1	...	1	45
Ambala ...	16	1	2	4	...	4	3	3	6	39
Jind ...	11	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	12
Mahendra- garh	19	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	21
Total ...	181	4	10	8	6	39	11	7	14	280

AYURVEDIC AND UNANI INSTITUTIONS

1960-61 1961-62 1962-63 1963-64 1964-65

Ayurvedic Institutions ...	113	113	115	119	120
Unani Institutions ...	21	21	22	21	21
Vaidyas, Hakims ...	134	134	137	140	141
Upvaidyas/Compounders	134	134	137	140	141

EDUCATION

RECOGNIZED INSTITUTIONS (1966-67)

	Total	Girls	Boys
PRIMARY SCHOOLS			
Government ...	4,442	242	4,200
Private ...	110	18	22
Total ...	4,552	260	4,292
MIDDLE SCHOOLS			
Government ...	705	92	613
Private ...	33	18	15
Total ...	738	100	628

HIGH SCHOOLS

Government	...	339	33	306
Private	...	122	44	78
Total	...	461	77	384

HIGHER SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Government	...	98	27	71
Private	...	39	6	33
Total	...	137	33	104

Total Number of Schools ... 5,888

JUNIOR BASIC TRAINING INSTITUTES

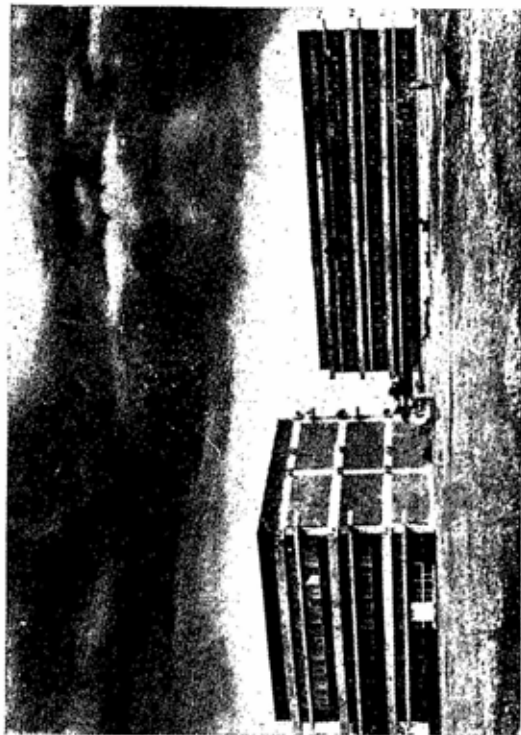
		Government	Non-Government	Total
(a) J.B.T. Schools	...	11	...	11
(b) High and Higher Secondary Schools with J.B.T. Units	...	24	29	53
(c) Training College/Arts College with J.B.T. Units	...	...	4	4

COLLEGES

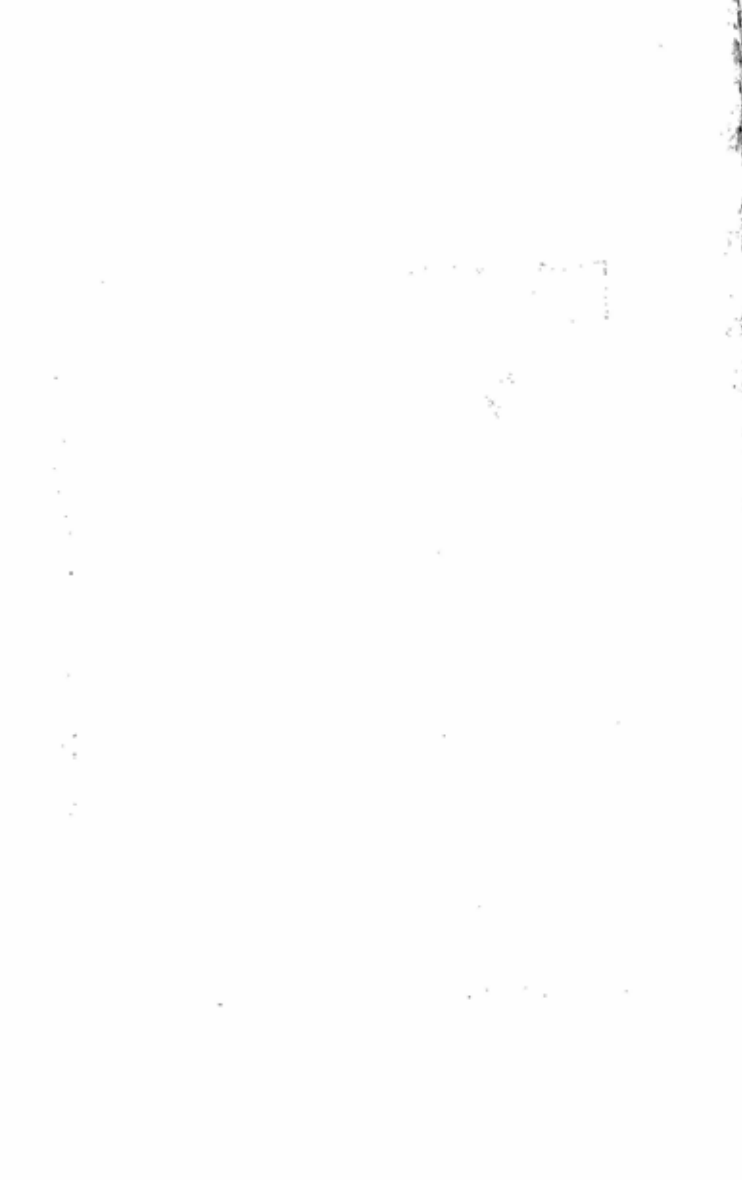
Arts and Science College	...	10	28	38
Training Colleges	...	2	3	5
Dairy Science College	...	1	...	1
Veterinary Science College	...	1	...	1
Agriculture College	...	1	...	1
Engineering College	...	1	...	1
Punjab University Evening College and Centre	...	1	...	1

UNIVERSITIES

1. Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.
2. Panjab University, Chandigarh (Common with Panjab)
3. Agricultural University, Hissar Campus.



A view of the Karukshetra University Campus



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